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Asiatic Immigrants.

1933

THE GERMANY OF ASIA

Japan's Policy in the Far East

Her "Peaceful Penetration" of the United States

How American Commercial and National Interests are Affected

By V. S. McCLATCHY

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PART ONE

Japan's Aims and Acts in the Far East—How She Threatens the Cause of Justice, the Interests of the United States and the Peace of the World.

In Eight Articles

A duplicate of this booklet will be sent to any address on receipt of 10c in stamps. Address The Bee, Sacramento, Calif.

AN EXPLANATION.

These articles on the Far East situation were written immediately on return to California after three months' absence and published in the Sacramento Bee between the 5th and 18th of April, 1919. The entire time, aside from that portion consumed in sea travel and a few days each in Manila and Korea, was spent in China and Japan, sightseeing being neglected at all times when information of value could be secured.

While, as a Californian and newspaperman, I was familiar with the local phases of Asiatic immigration, I had made no study of the Far East problem and had not even read the books of Thomas F. Millard. The study made on the ground was, therefore, somewhat in the nature of an original investigation, with the advantages and disadvantages that attend such character of investigation.

Exceptional opportunities for securing reliable and confidential information offered themselves, however, in meeting prominent officials, business representatives and newspaper men—Chinese, Japanese, English and American—most of them long resident in the Far East and intimately familiar with conditions there. These men represented not one, but all sides of the vexed problem.

It is believed that the picture presented in the articles, while necessarily deficient in detail and artistic niceties, is substantially true in conception, outline and color. Read in the light of subsequent events, the articles present an added interest, and have been reprinted in this form in response to request.

Our Asset in China.

Article III explains the wonderful commercial asset which the United States possessed in the early part of this year in the good-will of China. How much of that asset remains today, since the Paris conference endorsed Japan's claims on the Shantung Peninsula, it would be difficult to say. Letters from China politely excuse us on the theory that President Wilson, while unwilling to consent to inflicting injury on China, was compelled by the strength of the combination against him. It is probable that the real judgment of China is to the effect that while we refused to despoil China ourselves we have placed, through President Wilson's action, our official seal of approval on her spoliation by Japan. It is true President Wilson's action has been repudiated by the U. S. Senate reservation as to Shantung. If this reservation shall stand as the final action of the Nation we will have retrieved, in small part only, the grave injustice we have done China.

Astonishing Propaganda.

Various methods of propaganda, followed by Japan in securing her objects in the Far East and concealing them from the world, are referred to in the articles. The most remarkable piece of propaganda work done by her has been exposed since they were written. It is referred to here because it offers striking corroboration of statements made in them. Reference is had to the accomplishment of Sidney L. Gulick, who, during five years' stay in the United States, has essayed to convert us to his "New Oriental policy" of admitting Asiatics to this country as immigrants and citizens on the same plane as Europeans; who secured the endorsement and financial assistance in this campaign of a powerful church federation representing 100,000 churches; who has embodied his plan in a "restricted immigration" bill, and, with the names of one thousand prominent American citizens as sponsors therefor, presented the bill to Congress.

Under the operation of the bill the Japanese population in the United States would reach over 100,000,000 in 160 years, long before which time the country would have become a Japanese province. The thousand good Americans whose names are used in connection with this work of the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation did not know that the bill was "loaded." The scheme was fully exposed in a series of articles in the Sacramento Bee published in June and reproduced in the second part of this booklet.

Trans-Pacific News Service.

In Article IV attention is called to the manner in which Japan controls the incoming and outgoing news of Japan; how she is attempting to accomplish similar results in China, and the grave menace to the interests of the United States and the peace of the world which would attend the success of her efforts in this direction.

Following publication of these articles in April, 1919, the writer urged upon the Departments in Washington, and subsequently, in September and October, upon the two sub-committees of Congress having charge of radio legislation, the utilization of the navy radio facilities on the Pacific for news transmission to keep the people of the Far East in close touch with us, and thus prevent misunderstandings, defeat vicious propaganda, and avert war.

With the cessation of war activities the news report of the Committee on Public Information had to cease, and the Far East, including our own Philippines, would become again dependent upon unsympathetic and unfriendly, or inimical, news agencies for its daily information as to the United States, our sentiments and actions.

Interchange of news across the Pacific by American news agencies or newspapers under existing conditions was impracticable. The single American cable when operating was so congested that ten to fifteen days was required for transmission of a message, while the rates, either by cable or by radio, were prohibitive.

It was urged therefore that the navy be authorized to transmit news messages across the Pacific at a word rate so low—a maximum of 6 cents per word was suggested—that American news associations would be encouraged to inaugurate a reliable and adequate daily trans-Pacific news service, self-supporting and free from Government control or censorship.

The sub-committees were sympathetic, and bills looking to the tem-

porary authorization urged, pending permanent solution of the problem, were introduced in both houses. Probably encouraged thereby Vice Admiral W. H. Bullard, Director of Communications of the Navy, issued an order effective December 20, 1919, under which news messages would be received at San Francisco for transmission to Manila by naval radio at 6 cents per word.

As an immediate result steps are now in progress under which the Manila newspapers will receive every day a very full report of world's news from San Francisco. If Congress shall approve the principle involved in Admiral Bullard's order, a similar report will go to China, and eventually to Japan; and there will be sent back to us daily a report covering events and sentiments in the Far East.

With a plan of this character successfully operating on the Pacific, the same plan will be tried elsewhere; and in time the peoples of the earth may find, through daily interchange of reliable news reports in independent hands, free from Government suggestion or censorship, a safeguard against secret diplomacy and the ambitions of rulers for which the common people must always pay.

Chinese Awakening.

Since the articles were published, patriotic Chinese mobs have treated severely the persons and the property of three of the five traitorous Chinese officials named in Article V. The boycott against Japan and Japanese goods inaugurated by China in the early part of the year has grown in strength and determination, and has not been affected apparently, so far as the Chinese people are concerned, by Japan's threat to the Chinese Government that it might be compelled to resort to force to stop it. That boycott has been extended to our three Pacific Coast States—more particularly California—where the resident Chinese have declined to do business in any way with the Japanese.

Korea's Plight.

The estimate of the Korean situation, in a special article made before reliable information could be secured as to repressive measures adopted by the Japanese, has been fully confirmed by news since given to the world. I have myself received a mass of testimony and a large number of photographs bearing witness to the terrible atrocities committed upon the persons of the defenseless Koreans —men, women and children—apparently with the same object which the Germans had in committing atrocities in Belgium, to subordinate by terror a subject people.

The copy of the Korean manifesto or declaration of independence, brought out from Seoul on March 6th in my money belt, is the daddy of all the copies which have since been given to the world, and now rests in the archives of the President of the Provisional Korean Republic—Dr. Syngman Rhee, at Washington.

The story of the Philippine independence intrigue, as told in the last article, has since found confirmation in the records of Congressional Committees and committeemen at Washington, to whom requests were made in 1916 by cable and letter that independence be not granted to the islands unless the United States would guarantee that independence against the world.

V. S. McCLATCHY.

Sacramento, January 15, 1920.

ARTICLE I.

Japan's Problems and How She Attempts To Solve Them

Her Government and Her Methods Copied After Germany—Room Required for Her Growing Population—The Character of Her People—How Her Intentions Have Been Concealed.

The man who, in a strange land, finds more interest in observing the customs of the people and investigating economic and political conditions than in ordinary sightseeing cannot fail to conceive admiration for the Japanese people after even a short stay in Japan.

He finds them possessed of a number of admirable traits which might well be emulated in America, and which will account in part for the wonderful progress made by the Japanese Nation in two generations in modeling herself on the lines of Western civilization and taking position as one of the world powers.

The people are industrious and thrifty to the last degree. They are disciplined from childhood, and have inbred in them a deference for superiors, a respect for law and authority, which never leaves them. There are no tramps and no vicious idle.

Every Child Goes to School.

Their percentage of literacy is 100 —greater than that of the United States, which prides herself on public schools, and newspapers, and general intelligence. The coolie who draws your rickshaw, or who labors at the docks, can read and write his language—and his language is one of the most difficult on earth to learn. And the Japanese newspapers have large circulations.

The Japanese are ambitious, trained to utilize each moment, and eager to improve themselves.

A Courteous People.

They are courteous. The stranger traveling in Japan and unused to the customs of the country and unfamiliar with the language will always find some Japanese, not of the official class, who speaks enough English, who will put himself out to serve the stranger. In Kyoto, the ancient capital, thoroughly Japanese and not spoiled, as are the ports, by contact with Western civilization, we had a card of introduction by means of which we hoped to see the interior of the house of a wealthy Japanese. The

lady of the house received us, our jinrickshaw coolie, with the card in his hand, acting as our introducer and interpreter. And he did it with all the confidence and readiness of a Sir Walter Raleigh, with the strict observance of bows and compliments called for by Japanese etiquette, and, what was most surprising to us, with a natural grace of manner.

Modeled After Germans.

It is true that in a railroad train in Korea Mrs. McClatchy had to request a Japanese Sergeant to remove his stockinged feet from the seat opposite so that she might sit down, but it is to be remembered, against this, that in Berlin German officers before the war would shove ladies off the narrow sidewalks—and the Japanese have modeled themselves in many ways after the Germans, and small officials are inclined to be self-important and arbitrary. The high-class Japanese are commencing to observe more and more, however, the deference towards women which they find in Americans.

The Japanese impressed me as being generally superior in physical fitness to other peoples, due, in part, perhaps, to their outdoor life and their simple food, but above all to physical training which is compulsory in all schools. In two weeks in Japan, circulating freely among the crowds I saw only two spindle-shanked children. Babes and youths alike seemed sturdily built, happy and healthy.

The Germany of Asia.

But, the same man who freely admires these qualities in the Japanese cannot travel through other portions of the Far East, and particularly Korea, Manchuria and China, with opportunities for observation and investigation, without realizing that Japan is the Germany of Asia, with an ambition somewhat similar to that of her model, but limited possibly to Eastern Asia, instead of the world, while her methods are just as relentless and unscrupulous.

The great war gave her an opportunity of which she took full advantage, and the armistice came to her as a sickening shock, for she thought Germany could not be beaten. The world which had its hands so full in Europe that it was forced to ignore the progress of events in Asia is now checking up on Japan and her plans, with the probability that those plans will have to be materially modified.

A Public Duty to Tell Facts.

The United States particularly is entitled to a knowledge of the facts, and he who has acquired them owes a public duty to make them known.

The three Pacific Coast States, having had some experience with the Japanese and some knowledge of Japanese character, will be prepared to accept these facts. The remaining portions of the United States, outside of some officials at Washington, are not yet prepared to believe them. their only sources of information up to this time having been such as are skillfully provided through Japanese propaganda, which convey innocuous generalities and friendly assurances calculated to encourage ignorance and to lull suspicion.

These sources comprise not only professional Japanese propagandists and a number of Japanese-American societies organized, in instances, by Americans with good intent, but skillfully used to deceive by the Japanese, but also Americans of national prominence who have unwittingly permitted themselves to be used.

How Propaganda Is Spread.

There are men like Gary, the steel man, who with his wife, was royally entertained in Japan, and in interviews on his return gave as the correct index to the Far Eastern situation the point of view furnished by his entertainers, which was quite at variance with the facts: men like Jacob Schiff, the New York banker, who recently declared at a banquet that Americans should be very glad to see Japan in control of the Far East, as they would then know that their interests would be well cared for—and Schiff's information, according to his statement, was acquired in a visit to Japan thirteen years ago; men in various professions and lines of business who permitted themselves to be entertained and perhaps decorated by the Japanese Government and officials, and accepted their explanation of the situation at its face value, without attempt at investigation.

Such men, in view of the story which I have to tell, and which is only what any business firm or diplomat closely in touch with Far Eastern matters knows, are committing—unknowingly of course—a national crime in thus misleading the public that trusts them, in an important matter and at a critical time.

Made Close Study.

The Californian is supposed by his Eastern friends to be prejudiced against the Japanese; but a newspaperman is more or less of a trained investigator. In this matter, in order to be sure of the facts, after going through China and Korea, on my return to Japan, I put myself in touch with Japanese authorities and with Americans who had absorbed the Japanese point of view in order that misinformation received by me might be detected. In addition, I confess, as is indicated in the introduction to this article, to admiration of the Japanese people for certain traits and national accomplishments.

Among other prominent Japanese I met Zumoto, one of the big men of Japan, a journalist without official position, but who occupies with the present Japanese administration a standing similar to that filled by Colonel House in President Wilson's entourage. Zumoto speaks perfect English, has met many of the prominent men of the world, and is a man of views. In a two-hour interview at the Tokyo Club he discussed in the frankest manner the policies and mistakes of Japan, answering without hesitation the questions which I put to him, the understanding being that much of the interview was not for publication but for my information only.

Confident of Facts.

I have discussed various phases of the Eastern problem in the same way

with resident managers of the great American corporations doing business in the Far East and intimately familiar with the conditions. So that I am confident my facts are right; and the story which I have to tell must stand, or fall, in the minds of those who read it, by the facts rather than by opinions of mine.

Always the excuse is made for Japan in doing the things she has done and in following the present apparent policy that she has her own vital problem and is driven by stern national necessity. There is force in that plea and it is given place here before the story is told.

Rapid Increase in Population.

Japan's population increases more rapidly than that of any people on the earth except the Koreans. The records of the past show that she may be expected to double her population in fifty years. I assume that rate would be increased by more general adoption of modern sanitary methods (there is not yet in Japan, even in Tokyo with its 2,000,000 people, a sewer system) and that it might be decreased by improved standards of living and by progress of woman's rights and possible adoption in the future of woman suffrage.

At all events the population increases every year by 700,000 or more, and the problem is where to put them, for Japan's population is already dense. Sixty thousand or 70,000 a year are going to Hakaido, the northern of the island group, where the climate is colder, but it is found the Japanese can adapt themselves to conditions there. Some are going to Manchuria and some to Siberia. Some are going to South America, where a satisfactory understanding has been had with several of the countries that find Japanese labor desirable.

Wants More Elbow Room.

These outlets, it is claimed, are insufficient, and Japan must have the right of "peaceful penetration" into China in order to provide for her excess population. She insists, however, through those who talked with me, that she does not demand exceptional rights in China, but is willing to share with all other Nations the privileges granted her there.

That sounds fair enough; but the facts will show that Japan has demanded and sought to secure exceptional and exclusive rights in China; that she is even now working along that line; that in districts where she has been able to carry out her plans other nationalities could not now secure a footing without giving excuse for war between China and Japan; and that if Japan insists on carrying out the plans which are now plainly outlined the interests of the United States will be seriously menaced and possibly the peace of the world again jeopardized.

Unfaithful to Allies.

In following her established policy in the Far East, Japan has not only shown herself an apt pupil of Germany, her arch instructor, but she has also proved herself an unfaithful partner to her allies, deliberately taking advantage of their necessities to feather her own nest and to take from them the very things which she insisted she had no intention of taking. It is not impossible that when the facts are laid before the world and her allies find time to look after their own interests, Japan will undertake with their aid to find some solution of her congested population problem that does not involve possession or control of the entire Far East.

Two Sophistical Pleas.

Careful consideration of the facts offered in these articles will furnish, also, conclusive answers to two suggestions that have been made as to the policy of the United States in the Far East.

One of these suggestions is that we accept the proposition made by Japan and "peacefully penetrate" or exploit China in partnership with Japan. That would effectually destroy our prestige in China, where we are now regarded as the one powerful and disinterested friend she has, while Japan is regarded as an enemy who seeks her destruction. In this suggestion Japan aims either at destroying our stand in China, or if it survives the partnership, then she will share in the benefits.

The other suggestion is to the effect that we can save future worry and trouble by turning the Far East over to Japan and permitting her to work her will on it. That is the plan adopted in the melodrama to save the adult occupants in the sleigh from the Russian wolves by dropping one baby after another. In that case safety is secured if the supply of babies holds out. In the case of the Far East the way is endless, reaching onward through the generations of future history, and a victim offered at this time, even if it secured temporary relief, would only strengthen the Germany of Asia so that it could in the future more easily exact its demands of us. Besides the United States would lose too much, even at this time, by such a surrender.

Publicity, the Enemy of Intrigue.

President Wilson, who has said many good things and done some bad ones, said in his speech at the League of Nations meeting at New York March 5th concerning publicity and intrigue:

"One of the things the League of Nations is intended to watch is the course of intrigues. Intrigue cannot stand publicity, and if the League of Nations were nothing but a great Democratic Society it would kill intrigue. It is one of the agreements of this covenant that it is the friendly right of every nation a member of the League to call attention to anything that it thinks will disturb the peace of the world, no matter where the thing is occurring."

It is a pleasure to have in this way the commendation of the President for telling this story and to realize that the war censorship powers, if still in force, will not be invoked to stop it. For, in the absence of a League of Nations, it might be considered an unfriendly act for the United States to give these facts to the public, though Washington doubtless knows them; and it is important and necessary that the American public should learn them since the President has shown on several notable occasions an indisposition to take a stand on important international questions until assured of public sentiment; and public sentiment to be lasting must be based on a knowledge of the facts.

ARTICLE II

Japan's Intention to Control the Far East

A Military Nation, Governed By a Military Party—Her Methods for Securing Control of China—An Unfaithful Ally and a Dangerous Friend.

Japan's course as the Germany of Asia will be better understood when it is remembered that she has always been a military nation. The Samurai who saved and held Japan by the sword are the heroes of Japan's history, and to her army she unquestionably owes her existence and the place which she has recently attained among the great powers of the world.

Then, too, when Japan, about to emerge from her long Eastern seclusion into the light of Western civilization, looked about for a model government to copy, she chose that of Germany as best fitted to her needs and conditions. German ideas were adopted and German methods followed; the army was German taught and German organized; police surveillance and espionage systems were modeled on the German plan; most public officials speak German, and but few speak English; German methods of efficiency and detail were copied; martial order was cultivated in the school children who are drilled and whose school caps of military form indicate the class to which each belongs.

Yes, Japan was made in the Far East, but she was made over in Germany. She has been continuously ruled by the military, is ruled by it now and will be perhaps for some time. For while the voices of individuals are being raised in question as to the wisdom of retaining the military in the saddle save in times of war, in view of a number of recent blunders with which the rulers are charged, still the military spirit is too great and the military party too strongly entrenched to be easily displaced.

Japan in her planned conquest for control of the Far East has closely followed the methods pursued by Germany up to 1914. It is not unlikely, however, that the fate of Germany in consistently following up those methods through the world's war will give Japan cause to pause; and that if the glare of publicity be cast upon her own course in the Far East she will find in the world's comment and in diplomatic suggestions sufficient inducement for a material change of policy.

Admired Germany Even in War.

It is known now that Japan's course throughout the war was not that of a whole-hearted enemy of Germany's methods and ambitions, but rather that of one who, while friendly to and admiring Germany, felt tied by certain treaty obligations, and saw in the war a golden opportunity to advance her own ambitions.

Japan did not treat harshly enemy aliens; they were asked to drop out of open business, but they do not appear to have been otherwise disturbed. I learned of but one action against an enemy alien—an aggravated case—and the German after being found guilty was fined 300 yen, but the fine was not collected and he was permitted to depart. It is well known in Japan that the Government believed Germany could not be beaten and that the end of the war stunned the nation. This belief will explain much of Japan's policy.

Not Faithful to Allies.

The facts show, too, that Japan was not in all things a faithful partner of the Allies. She took advantage of the predicament of her partners to advance her own interests in the Far East, often to the injury of theirs. The unexpected—to her—close of the war has left her in an embarrassing situation, for her objects have not been finally accomplished, and yet her intentions are plainly evidenced and she is called upon to offer some explanations and some amends. This language is undiplomatic, but it represents the cold facts.

In this, as in other matters, the war will prove a distinct benefit to mankind, notwithstanding its great cost, for without evidence of the kind the world, and particularly the trusting United States, might have accepted Japan's assurances until too late for preventing action.

Publicity Will Help.

The Japanese merchants and business men are only commencing to appreciate the value of commercial honesty, and the military powers that rule Japan have sadly soiled her reputation before the world for diplomatic honesty and national honor. If she had won control of the Far East by these German methods she could have disregarded the world's criticism. As it is, publicity, even without public pressure from her allies, will doubtless do much towards inducing a change in her policy.

Since the war opened in 1914 Japan has consistently endeavored to force China by threat and by bribery and by force to accord her special rights and concessions which would be to the injury of her allies, and has sought by force and threat to have these concessions kept secret. And in the case of the twenty-one demands in 1915 she was guilty of the unparalleled piece of bad faith of having her Ambassadors deny categorically to her allies and friends, whose interests were involved—notably the United States and Great Britain—that such demands had been made or granted.

Japanese Methods.

In the case of Tsing-tau which she wrested from Germany in order, as she publicly declared, to return it to China, she first showed a disposition to retain it as her just share of the spoils, then declared a willingness to turn it back to China if paid therefor in railroad and other exclusive concessions; and now it appears that she has utilized her four years' possession of the place to so change local conditions and supplant other

nationals with Japanese that it will be practically Japanese territory no matter who holds the nominal title.

Japan endeavored to force the Chinese Government by bribe and threat to have Japan appear as spokesman for China at the Paris Conference; tried to have Koo and Wong withdrawn when they faithfully presented China's cause; threatened the Chinese Government through Obata if it disclosed any of the secret treaties and concessions which had been wrung from China during the war, which were inimical to the interests of the other Allies and which the Paris Peace Conference had shown a desire to see.

These are only a few of the counts against Japan as a bad partner; some of the others perhaps will not become public, but they are all placed and indexed in the foreign offices of the great powers; and a knowledge of them on the part of the world will undoubtedly secure a change of policy on the part of Japan, and perhaps assist in dethroning the military power in Japan that is responsible for them. They are briefly referred to now, as they help to make easy an understanding of matters to follow.

Control of China.

Japan's main efforts for the past four or five years have been directed at securing control of China. Dr. Kengiro Yamakawa, President of the Imperial University of Tokyo, recently said in the Nichi-Nichi, one of the prominent Japanese dailies:

"If Japan would abandon the policy of expansion it would no doubt put an end to Chinese suspicion of us. But such cannot and could not be done. It would expose Japan to danger to her national existence. Japanese expansion in China has always been economic, and there is no reason why it should not continue to be so."

Dr. Yamakawa might have added with equal truth that if Japan were permitted to take what she wishes in China her penetration of that country would be entirely peaceful.

Standing China Up With Gun.

It has been stated often, too, that Japan wishes no exclusive privileges or rights in China, but is only anxious to have an equal chance with all other nations. Nothing could be fairer in sound—but the facts show that Japan has been standing China up with a gun and demanding exclusive concessions and the right to dictate the financial, military and commercial future of the country; to control its revenues; to command its army; to manage its mines—pointing unerringly to the undoing of China and the elimination of the interests of all other countries therein. She has done this in cool disregard of the fact that she was acting as an unfaithful partner, robbing her allies of their commercial assets in the Far East, while they were fighting for National existence and the liberty of the world in Europe. She has done it in the belief that Germany would win with this kind of policy in Europe and that she could win with it in Asia.

In pursuance of her policy of securing control of the Far East, and particularly of China, Japan has attempted a number of things as enumerated below, some of which will be discussed in future articles.

Things Japan Has Attempted.

1. Her plans for propaganda have been elaborate, including the use of newspapers in America and the Far East, the making of opinion by entertainment of prominent visitors, speeches and interviews by her diplomats, use of Japan-American societies. She has secured some of the best results from prominent men susceptible to social flattery, who accepted what they saw without investigation.

2. She has controlled for years the incoming and outgoing news of Japan and it is sterilized and colored so as to best serve the purpose of propaganda.

3. She is attempting to secure similar control of the incoming and outgoing news of China.

4. She is attempting to secure by loans and otherwise control of news communication in China—telephone and telegraph lines.

5. She is attempting to secure rail communication by loans for roads building, or in grant for new roads; and to obtain exclusive control of minerals and raw material.

6. She has insisted that China should not borrow from others or make grants to others, save with Japan's consent, and that the Chinese army should be, in effect, controlled by Japanese.

Promotes Strife, Then Sends Army.

7. She has sought to promote civic strife in China as an excuse for entering with her army. The trouble between the North and South is kept alive largely by Japanese influence. She has loaned the money to support the army of the North, whose existence threatens natural peace. The Peace Conference at Peking between the two sections failed, it is said, because of Japanese influence.

8. She maintains under salary in official position in China provocateurs —peace disturbers—to prevent the creation of a unified government or the adoption of effective opposition to her plans. These are usually, though not always, Chinese who have been educated in Japan, and are for that reason more amenable to Japanese influence.

9. She has sought through these various avenues to keep the outside world in ignorance as to the real facts in the Far East, to cause disruption among forces that might oppose her, to cause distrust in China, and the Far East generally, of the United States.

The War's End Causes Embarrassment.

During the war Japan found it easy to take what she wanted. Since the armistice she has encountered unexpected obstacles. She expected to secure control of the Siberian railroad; she hoped for an expression from the Paris Peace Conference on "racial discrimination" which would open the United States, Canada and Australia to her emigrants on equal terms with other Nations. She desired as a reward for her participation in the war possession of Tsingtau and a free hand in China.

Instead, she finds a growing distrust of her throughout the world as the facts come to light, and a warning from a few of her thinking and independent statesmen—Osaki for one

—that her present militaristic methods are carrying her to a fall; and that, unless she mends her ways, the world, including those whom she counts on as friends, will be allied against her.

In her operations in Siberia she has succeeded in losing the good will of all her allies—first by breaking her pledge and sending in 73,000 Japanese soldiers when the understanding called for 12,000 only, with 7,000 from the United States and a small number from England and France; and next by the uncontrolled and autocratic actions of three independent military units, each acting on its own authority, and indulging in such byplay as the arrest of English Generals and the inquisition of French Colonels. These things are not spoken of publicly—and the real statesmen of Japan deplore them; but they stand as Japan's acts so long as she is ruled by the military party.

ARTICLE III

Our Commercial Asset in China

A Good Will and Confidence Unique in the Relations of Nations —How It Is Threatened By Japanese Propaganda in Japanese Interests—The Partnership Japan Offers Us.

To understand the effect on the integrity of China, upon the interests of the United States, and upon the peace of the world, of the policy of Japan in the Far East—and reference is had to the policy inexorably pointed out by her acts and not to that innocent substitute which she courteously acknowledges to the world—it is necessary to refer to some incidents which are not generally borne in mind by the American public, though they are readily ascertained through inquiry.

The Sentiment of China.

First as to the sentiment of China towards the United States. I had opportunity to learn it by intercourse with representatives of all classes of Chinamen in Hong Kong, Canton, Shanghai and Peking, sometimes speaking in English and sometimes where necessary communicating through an interpreter. Whether it was a building contractor in charge of construction of a million dollar modern department store in Canton, a wealthy abbot and patriot entertaining me in his garden beside a bronze Buddha 1,500 years old, and in the shade of an immense pagoda hoary with age; a wealthy merchant; a student; a coolie; the plague expert of China; a Justice of the Supreme Court; the physician in charge of sanitation on the Government railways; a Chinese editor; a newspaper business manager with up-to-date Western ideas and a wonderful plant; whether he had been educated in America, in England, at Oxford College, Hong Kong, or even in Japan—there was always one message for Americans spoken with touching enthusiasm and feeling. It was a message of love and appreciation for what Americans had done in the past, absolute confidence in their disinterested friendship as demonstrated by their acts, and a hope that the same kindly leading hand would help China to preserve her nationality and survive the dangers by which she is threatened.

No Nation Ever Before So Favored.

It is a feeling such as no nation, so far as I know, has ever before in the world's history entertained for an alien people.

It is a sentiment which unfortunately permits the Chinese at times to be victimized by some sharper taking advantage of his American standing to add to his bank roll. There was the man who proposed to sell to the Chinese Government several million dollars' worth of locomotives, and who secured a large advance in cash on the order, but who was found on later investigation to have no connection with the Baldwin Locomotive Works, which he claimed to represent. The police of the United States, I understand, are still looking for him.

A more satisfactory manifestation of the sentiment was found in the spontaneous contributions from Chinese to the American Red Cross. I heard of one man, a small farmer in the interior, who walked ten miles in order to be able to send in by post-office messenger a contribution of a dollar—all he could afford—with a note expressing his gratitude as a Chinaman for what America had done.

Feeling Is Unanimous.

I was told by Americans long resident in China—newspaper men and others—that this feeling is practically unanimous among the Chinese; and that it extends far back into the interior, where presumably knowledge of world happenings does not penetrate.

Consider this sentiment as a commercial asset and see what it means. China has a population of 400,000,000, and its purchasing power already great, will become enormous when under intelligent and kindly aid its resources are developed, education made general, the status and wages of the laborer increased and standards of living raised. Its purchasing power then will be greater than that of any other nation on the face of the earth.

Business Ours for Asking.

The foreign business of this Nation is ours for the asking, and assuming only intelligent handling and fair treatment, and involving no violation of national rights, or commercial ethics, and no unfairness to any other Nation, whether ally or not. Do we want that business, and will we take steps to protect it? This entirely apart from the consideration of justice in preventing the further subjugation of Asia by a Nation that might be induced in the future to use its augmented power against the balance of the world, and particularly against the United States.

It becomes evident, too, why Japan,

aside from her desire to absorb China, or to so control it as to lead in time to its absorption, and possibly as an aid to attainment of that ambition, seeks to cause such distrust of the United States in the Far East as will minimize our influence there and induce the Chinese to look elsewhere for friendly counsel and aid.

Must Nullify Japanese Propaganda.

If the United States only takes the necessary steps to nullify the vicious propaganda undertaken by Japan for this purpose and to insure and maintain between us and the Far East that intimate knowledge of each other that will prevent future misunderstanding, Japan will be powerless to accomplish her purposes. For in this, as in some other matters, this great war, terrible as has been the misery and the toll, has served a wise and a beneficent purpose, giving the Far East a warning that need only be heeded to insure protection and peace in that part of the world.

Japan, confident that Germany could not be beaten, certain that the war would drag on for some time, and seeing in the preoccupation of her allies her opportunity to work her plans in the Far East, abandoned all semblance of guile and persuasion with her intended victims and plainly demanded with the necessary threats, the things she wanted immediately with reservations for the future. The armistice came like a thunderbolt before her plans had been fully consummated, and now as the facts become known she stands forth as the Germany of the Pacific, relentless and implacable, willing to use any means to secure her ends.

Her Intentions Toward China.

What she has done in Korea and in Manchuria she intended to do in China, and her protestations at this time are sufficiently contradicted by her acts.

In 1894, when Japan made war upon China, it was, she claimed, partly to insure the independence of Korea, and the peace of Shimonoseki recognized that independence. In 1904 Japan warred with Russia because that Power threatened the independence of Korea; and in 1910 Japan calmly annexed Korea, on the assumption, presumably, that it would be easier thus to maintain its independence!

In Manchuria Japan sought ostensibly only peaceful penetration, a railroad franchise and some mining rights. She gradually assumed control through her army, and now she rules it with the relentless methods of a Prussian-taught army. The stories told by American engineers of the present "peaceful penetration" of Manchuria have placed the Far East, which has heard them, upon sufficient notice as to Japan's methods.

The Japanese Defense.

Japan's defense in this matter, as made by Baron Makino at Paris in February, and published throughout the country, consists partly of reverberating silence on some issues, and the plea ingenuously made between the lines that even if guilty, as charged, she is only doing in China what the European Nations have done. Makino calls attention to the fact that when Japan, as spoils of victory in the war with China, claimed and received title and lease to the Liaotung Peninsula (in Manchuria), with the naval base and fortress of Port Arthur, and the port of Dairen, she was robbed thereof by the European Powers, Russia taking the peninsula, while England got Wei-Hai-Wei. This peninsula under lease and title Japan recovered as spoil after her war with Russia.

There is no reference in Makino's statement to the fact that in 1909, after her rights as to the Antung-Mukden Railroad had expired, Japan, by force of arms and against China's protest, completed that road and is now operating it; and in 1915, while Europe was at war, forced China to extend to the year 2002, instead of 1923, the year when she would secure control of this road.

What Japan has done in Tsingtao and its hinterland, Kiaochau, in order to force territory which she took from Germany in trust for China, to revert to Japanese control will be explained in another article.

Why Japan Wants Us In.

The situation as indicated in this article will explain also why Japan is eager to go into partnership with the United States in the exploitation of China.

There exists throughout China at this time the most bitter hatred of Japan since her intentions have become so evident. If the United States becomes the partner of Japan in working her pleasure in China, the good will of the Chinese which we now enjoy will disappear and Japan will no longer be under any handicap in securing Chinese trade. If any of that good will survives the partnership then Japan will share equally in the profits. And incidentally all hopes of China saving herself from the destiny intended for her as a subject of Japan will disappear, while the United States will find the fruits of partnership turn to ashes, for Japan has continually shown a clever ingenuity in taking the spoils and leaving her partners with an empty bag.

In such a partnership the United States would secure no profit, and she would lose all the prestige and honor which has come to her through generations of fair dealing.

We Would Lose All.

In the situation as described is found answer, also, to the suggestion that the United States has no concern in the Far East, and that she can save herself future trouble by permitting Japan to work her will there.

The United States can no longer live within herself. She must have trade relations with the balance of the world; and she cannot afford to throw away the opportunity to secure the trade of China now offered her. Aside from that, consideration for her own future safety and for the peace of the world would forbid allowing Japan to carry out her plans, which have been prematurely exposed by the close of the war.

ARTICLE IV

Japan's Control of Far East News

How She Utilizes It To Further Her Interests; Defensive Measures Adopted By the United States—Necessity for an Adequate American-Controlled Trans-Pacific News Service—Cable Service Inadequate.

For years Japan has pursued a shrewd and well-organized system of propaganda designed to conceal from the Western World a general knowledge of her real purposes in the Far East, to maintain friendly relations with nations whose interests she was steadily undermining, and to create among the powers concerned in the Far East a mutual distrust of each other which would prevent concert of action against her. Because of the disinterested position of the United States and its consequent influence, particularly in China, this propaganda has been used within the past few years to injure the American prestige in the Far East.

How Propaganda Is Spread.

A previous article referred to various means utilized in spreading this propaganda, including prominent Americans who had been entertained in Japan and carefully coached on one side of the question and who became earnest and innocent propagandists; Japan-American societies for the ostensible promotion of friendly feeling and commercial business, entered into by Americans and by some Japanese perhaps in perfect good faith; hired propagandists of various types who traveled in America, and control of the news of the Far East.

Students of the news have wondered why we know so little of the Far East; why there seldom comes anything prejudicial to Japan; why when a short special of that character does get through, it is promptly denied or lengthily explained away until the original charge sinks out of sight. The traveler in the Far East is surprised to find practically no news of America, but considerable of London, in the newspapers on the Eastern Asiatic Coast, and rarely anything of importance from America that is distasteful to prominent Far Eastern interests.

How News Is Controlled.

The explanation is that the news of the Far East is controlled practically by Reuter, a British news agency, and by Japan, and the two have formed a combination. Before the war Germany presented her interests to the people of the Far East through the Wolff agency and the Ostasiatische Lloyd, a ramification of Wolff.

Except during a few months this year and last year, when the Committee on Public Information sent American news across the Pacific, the Far East for many years has received its news of the United States through Reuter, the report being prepared at New York for British tastes, blue penciled by British hands at London, expurgated, clarified and interpreted by British hands at Shanghai, where British feeling against Americans has been most marked, and thence distributed.

Reuter's Advantages.

During the first years of the great war, when the United States was neutral, this Reuter service was very effectively used to so misinterpret American sentiment and acts as to create a strong prejudice against us.

Reuter has discriminatory rates over the Far Eastern cables, which are generally under British control, which would have made it impractical for an American news report to go over in competition. And again, the Associated Press has until recently regarded its proper sphere as within the United States. Last January, however, it commenced a complete leased wire daily report by cable to the leading newspapers of South America, at their request.

Trades With Japanese Agency.

Some years ago Reuter retired from Japan in favor of the Kokusai, the Japan National News Agency, a Government-controlled organization. Under that arrangement the Kokusai receives from Reuter the world news and distributes it through Japan after it has been properly sterilized according to Japanese standards. The news of Japan, which Reuter distributes over the world under the Reuter label, is that which the Kokusai determines should go out of Japan.

One result of this news control was observed at the time of the armistice. The world knew for a week or ten days that things were leading inevitably to the signing of the armistice—it knew for thirty days or more that the defeat of the Germans was rapidly approaching. This news was suppressed by Kokusai, and Japan knew nothing of it until the announcement of the signing of the armistice came like a thunderbolt; and in one week there are said to have been failures in Japan amounting to $50,000,000. Some favored corporations which are said to be close to the Government had the tip and shoved off on an unsuspecting market as much of doubtful securities as the market could take.

Cable Delays 10 to 14 Days.

While the Associated Press and a few American dailies have special correspondents in the Far East, the cable facilities across the Pacific are so inadequate and the rates so high that a satisfactory news service cannot be maintained. During the years of the war it took from ten to fourteen days to get a cable message across the Pacific.

Japan's Control of Chinese Papers.

As Japan has control of the news of Japan, so is she attempting to control the news of China, both incoming and outgoing.

In pursuance of that policy, she has secured ownership or control of a number of the Chinese vernacular newspapers located in the larger cities, and controls also some English language newspapers, including two in Shanghai. In Canton, where no Chinese newspaper could be purchased, a new one was started by Japanese interests.

The vernacular newspapers controlled by Japan are registered with the Japanese Consulate and claim extra-territorial rights, including trial by the Japanese Consul, so that they are practically immune from Chinese laws or courts, or official displeasure. In consequence they can villify, and blackmail without check or redress, and this power is freely used to silence or coerce Chinese officials and patriots who do not bend themselves to the Japanese will. The Chinese newspapers conducted on a business basis and responsible to the courts for debts and utterances face in this situation an unfair and very trying competition.

A News Agency in China.

Japan has also organized in China a news collecting and distributing agency called the Far Eastern News Agency, which has the aid of Japanese Consular Agents in the various cities in collecting news and the assistance of the Japanese code books in transmitting it. This agency offers its service of world and China news to the vernacular newspapers at a price which would not pay for office rent. As an added inducement it offers registration at the Japanese Consulate and the protection afforded thereby so long as the editor is "good."

This service is devoted largely to Japanese propaganda, and is even more dangerous to the newspapers that rely on it for a complete service because of what it suppresses. It is carefully designed to keep from the Chinese the local and foreign news which it is not in Japan's interests to have known, or to so color and modify it as to make it serve the purpose.

The "Compub" News Service.

The control of the news has been used of late years deliberately for creating prejudice against America and injury to American interests, either by what it failed to tell or by what it told only partly or incorrectly, to such an extent that the United States last year, through its Committee on Public Information, essayed to keep the Far East advised of America's aims and acts in the war by establishing a daily service of its own.

The "compub" report, as it was called, was wirelessed each day from San Diego (afterwards from San Francisco) and caught at Cavite (Philippine Islands), from which point it was relayed to China, being caught at Shanghai by the French wireless and at Peking by the United States wireless in the American concession.

Given to Newspapers.

At Manila it was used by the three American newspapers, and (after translation) by the five vernacular newspapers. It was briefed also, and transmitted to the various islands of the Philippine group for publication or posting.

In Shanghai, Peking and Tien Tsin it was available at once for English or American newspapers, and elsewhere could be received by mail or by wire. In addition, it was briefed and translated into Chinese, under direction of Carl Crow, representing the Committee on Public Information, and mailed to all the Chinese newspapers that cared to receive and use it—between 200 and 300.

Offered Also to Japanese.

From Guam the report was cabled, at expense of the committee, to Japan, where it was used by the few American newspapers, and a part of it—particularly the speeches of President Wilson—translated into Japanese, and offered to the Japanese dailies, which quoted freely therefrom.

Later the report was caught at Vladivostok, wired to Irkutsk and Omsk, and distributed by mail to other points.

In addition, after the Paris Conference commenced, an excellent report thereof was sent by wireless from Lyons in France, caught at Vladivostok, Peking, Shanghai and Cavite, and distributed therefrom.

In this way the Far East was kept advised of the position of the United States and the vicious propaganda of Japan lost most of its effect. The report, however, was not an adequate news report of world's affairs, was only a war measure operated under war authority, has already been discontinued in some places, and must soon cease in others if it has not already ceased everywhere.

Exchange of News Necessary.

All American interests in the Far East, diplomatic and commercial, are unanimous in expressing the opinion that the United States cannot retain the good will of the Far East and cannot protect her interests there in the absence of the exchange of news reports across the Pacific which will keep the United States and the Far East fully advised as to the acts and sentiments of each other respectively.

In China, Chinese newspaper men, statesmen and business men now recognize the necessity for securing through an adequate news service, such knowledge of world affairs that Japan's vicious propaganda may be offset and her purposes uncovered. In Canton the Chinese have even started an English language newspaper in order to keep before Americans and English the things which they should know as to the policy of Japan.

ARTICLE V

Japan's Designs on China

The Sudden Termination of the War Exposes Them—Her Methods of Creating Dissension That She May Have an Excuse for Interfering By Force—The Panorama of Events in China in February.

In February of this year I was in Hongkong, Canton, Shanghai and Peking, engaged rather in investigations of conditions than in sightseeing. What I learned then—which is only what every one in the Far East who follows the march of events knows—constitutes a complete answer to the suave assurances made to the world at that same time as to the

pacific intentions and benevolent acts of Japan in China. I shall outline here only the conditions as they were in February—equally interesting and convincing is the history of Japan's policy for the past four years, incidents of which have been referred to in previous articles and more of which will be told later.

Incidentally it should be borne in mind that the ignorance of the general American public as to these matters of vital concern to them—as shown in a recent article on the commercial asset which we have in China's good will—is due partly to the difficulties in securing news communication, but more to the elaborate propaganda of Japan and to her control of the outgoing news of the Far East.

A Panorama of Events.

In February there was in session at Canton the old Chinese Parliament of the new Republic, which had been forcibly dissolved some time before by the former Premier with a Chinese army at his back, paid by Japanese gold. This Parliament had reconvened as a protest against the existing conditions and with the patriotic desire to do what it could to save China.

At Peking the new Parliament was in session, divided in its councils by the intrigues of Japan, by the demands of the Japanese paid army and by the loyal efforts of the faithful guard to serve the country.

At Shanghai the Commissioners from North China and from South China deliberated in the large building built by the Germans for a club, but confiscated by China at the declaration of war. They had come together at the urgent solicitation of the United States and Great Britain to heal their differences if possible, to put an end to civil strife, and to present a united China to the outside world.

In one of the adjoining Provinces the Chinese army under the orders of its commander, General Hsu Shu Cheng—"Little Hsu," as he is called to distinguish him from the elder Hsu—was practicing the art of warfare on a defenseless people, and as a suggestion that its demands for more Japanese money be favorably considered. The army was with the North—it had been instructed by Germans and Japanese, and its commanders are under Japanese influence.

On the Wampu, near Canton, the Chinese navy of a few ships was mobilized. It is British-taught, and it had thrown in its fortunes with the South, whose policy seems to the foreigners to be more actuated by real love for China.

At Paris the Chinese Peace Commissioners, Wellington Koo, Ambassador at Washington, and Wong, also a distinguished Chinese statesman, endeavored to protect China against the intimidation of Japan and the traitorous acts of some of her own people.

Japan as Trouble Breeder.

Bear in mind that all the trouble and disruption which form the subject matter of this article was directly and deliberately caused by Japan in furtherance of her own ends, to make the conquest or control of China more easy and to accomplish it as speedily as possible and before Europe and America could find time to look after their interests in the Far East.

The disruption between the North and the South of China was brought about through the intrigues of Japan, by direct suggestion and aid, and through means of Chinese officials, many of them educated in Japan, and all well paid for their treachery.

The South was assured it was not receiving proper treatment from the North and that it had the sympathy of the majority of the Japanese people. The North was told that differences between the people of a Nation can only be settled by military operations and the complete defeat of one side. Japan, therefore, loaned large sums of money to the new Chinese Government, controlled by the North, with the express understanding that certain portions thereof were to be used for military operations against the South. In thus instigating civil war and then insuring the victory of the North, Japan felt she was aiding the element which would be most amenable to Japanese influence and would care least for the integrity of China.

Chinese Traitors.

The President of China has the confidence of the patriotic element among his countrymen, who say that, while he makes apparently no open or aggressive stand against Japan, he is fully alive to her intentions and proposes to thwart them if possible, but is opposing cunning with cunning. His official family, however, is honeycombed with treachery. The following five individuals, all educated in Japan and all comparatively young men, are notoriously paid tools of Japan who have profited well by their employment: Tsao Ju Lin, Minister of Communications; Lu Chung Yu, head of the Sino-Japanese Bank; General Hsu Shu-cheng, head of the army; Chung, Chinese Minister in Japan, and Sze Li Pen, Councillor in the Foreign Office. The latter acts as interpreter when Chinese and Japanese commissions or officials discuss important matters, and honest Chinese officials, I am told, have been horrified to find that the official record bore testimony that they had made statements and acceded to conditions quite different from what was in their minds.

The Governors of some of the Provinces are also Japanese agents. This is openly charged, and apparently proved by his official acts, against the Governor of the Shantung Province, who is married to a Japanese woman.

The effort to secure through the Shanghai Conference a working agreement between the North and the South was a failure, though another conference is spoken of. The South insisted that the North should come in with clean hands and cease active military operations against unorganized and unarmed people. Japanese influence was too great, however, and while there was some Oriental sidestepping there was no cessation of hostilities; and the conference adjourned.

In Parliament a measure was introduced for the demobilization of the army, both in the interests of economy and because China had no need of an army at this time. This was promptly met by an ultimatum from the army that the Government at once secure from Japan more of the $20,000,000 loan offered and ensure future

payments to the army for some time.

The President and Chinese loyal statesmen are trying to prevent the taking of more money from Japan because derelict Government officials have pledged for the loan some of the Government railways and certain additional concessions; and Japan is anxious to force the loan on China as one means of securing possession of the railroads. The end had not come when I left China and I have seen no statement covering the matter since then.

An agent of American financial interests went to China in March, and it is possible that a readjustment of Chinese financial affairs may be made by a loan participated in by all the powers but in which the United States will predominate. If this happens China may be saved from the clutches of Japan.

Japan's Demand at Paris.

At Paris Japan asserted the right to speak for China, and when Koo and Wong combated this, Japan tried to have them silenced or recalled, making use of various threats to secure the purpose.

Under the Lansing-Ishii agreement between the United States and Japan quasi recognition is given to some indefinite interests of Japan in China. President Wilson has not seen fit as yet to make a public explanation of this remarkable document, though he has had sufficient inquiries. I can therefore only refer to it. But Japan claims that under this agreement we have conceded her full control over Chinese affairs, and this is the claim she attempted to make good at Paris.

In fact, when President Wilson sent a congratulatory telegram to the President of the Chinese Republic on the occasion of that Republic's birthday, the Japanese papers declared his act to be a clear violation of the Lansing-Ishii agreement and that the United States had no right to communicate with China save through Japan. That same claim was made by an English language newspaper in Shanghai, the Mercury, controlled by Japanese.

The issue was forced in connection with submission to the Peace Conference of the secret twenty-one conditions forced upon China by Japan in 1915, existence of which was denied to the world by Japan, which threatened China and her officials with severe penalties if she even mentioned that such conditions had been exacted. The Peace Conference had shown a desire to see these conditions and other secret treaties, and the Chinese Commissioners had indicated their willingness to produce them. Their copies had been stolen from them as they passed through Japan on their way to Paris, but duplicates could be secured by wireless if necessary.

Japan used all her power and influence, first to have Koo and Wong silenced and Japan recognized as China's spokesman at Paris, and failing that, to have Koo and Wong instructed that the secret treaties forced at the point of the sword by Japan since August, 1914, should not be produced. Obata, on behalf of Japan, made at Peking the most serious threats against China and the officials of her Government if Japan's wishes were not complied with, and it looked for a while as if China must yield.

Publicity May Save China.

In this case publicity defeated Japan and saved China, just as publicity now, promptly and properly applied, will prevent attainment of Japan's ultimate ends in the Far East and save the world much tribulation. The old Parliament at Canton cabled Koo and Wong to stand by their guns; the commercial bodies and guilds of the leading cities, commencing in the South and gradually spreading through the North, did the same; and such public sentiment was speedily created throughout China that the new Parliament at Peking, notwithstanding the influence of Japan, did not dare recall Koo and Wong, or withdraw their authority, and they were permitted to go ahead on their own discretion. Fortunate, indeed, for China that she was represented by such men.

It is little wonder that China was stirred by these matters into active hatred of Japan and a boycott of her goods, and that she was impelled to seriously consider the advice of her friend, the United States, and endeavor to adjust her internal differences, that she might present a united front to the enemy. With the aid of her friends on the outside, and with full exploitation in China of the traitorous acts of Japanese paid officials of China, she may yet accomplish a workable union of the Chinese Provinces.

ARTICLE VI

Japan's Record in China.

What She Has Done in Korea, Manchuria and Shantung—How She Counted On Enriching Herself Through the War—Her Contemptuous Treatment of Americans

Japan persistently insists, through diplomatic channels and by her various clever methods of propaganda, including American societies and American business men, that she has no designs on securing the territory of China or any part of it, or any wish for concessions or privileges which are not open to all other Nations.

Japan's record is sufficient disproof of her claims of good faith in this matter, and fortunately pernaps for the world that record during the war and because of Japanese belief that it was her great opportunity has been so plainly written that it needs only publicity—the publicity which Japan is desperately striving to prevent.

How Korea Was Protected.

Korea was under the suzerainty of China. Japan fought two wars—one with China and one with Russia—ostensibly to insure the independence of Korea; and then appropriated the country herself. The excuse she made was that Korea is contiguous to Japan—and therefore offered opportunity for Japan's enemies to menace her. She afterwards claimed a spe-

cial sphere of influence and control of South Manchuria on the plea that an enemy might occupy it to the injury of Korea. That control of South Manchuria has since been changed into the most despotic possession under Prussian methods.

She subsequently insisted that it was necessary for her to have control in Inner Manchuria lest her rights in South Manchuria should be threatened.

Under that system of reasoning Japan, if unchecked, might claim all of China, and eventually all of Asia.

Japan's Peaceful Methods.

South Manchuria is occupied in a military way by the Japanese. British and other nationalities were subjected to the greatest indignities and the excuse therefor offered by a Japanese Vice Consul in a particularly aggravated case was "In the view and contention of the Japanese Government you are in Japanese territory and must submit to the Japanese who are the ruling authority in the East and must be obeyed."

Italian troops passing through Manchuria on their way to Siberia were hampered in their progress after leaving the South Manchurian railroad by the demand of the Japanese that their authority and not that of Russia be recognized. The Chinese who presumably have some little claim on the territory were not even permitted to entertain the Italians.

Japanese subjects made attacks on the American Consuls at Dalny and Newchang and on the wife of the American Consul at Mukden. At Mukden in April, 1915, when Japan was insisting on acceptance by China of the twenty-one demands, a body of Japanese troops marched through the Walled City into which they had no right to enter and maneuvered for fifteen minutes in front of the American Consulate General.

Japan's Wireless Stations.

Japan has put up a wireless station without any authority and in violation of China's sovereignty at Tsinan Fu, on the railway from Peking to Mukden. She has installed another in the center of China at Hankow, 500 miles up the Yangtze River, and maintains a garrison there, both against China's protests. The wireless is powerful and prevents the American and British gunboats patrolling the river from communicating with each other.

Japan has installed another wireless at Tsingtau, which place she took from Germany to return to China but is still holding. At Dairen, the Japanese wireless station in the Kwangtung leasehold is apparently used to prevent communication between or with ships for a distance of 1,500 miles. The Pacific Mail frequently cannot communicate with her ships coming into Shanghai.

The Story of Tsingtau.

The history of Tsingtau and its hinterland, Kiaochou, very aptly illustrates the methods of Japan, and indicates how much sincerity there is in her protestations of good faith. Germany secured possession of this port and the hinterland in consideration for the massacre of two German missionaries. She probably would have been willing to trade more missionaries on similar terms. She made elaborate improvements in town and port on modern lines.

When Germany in 1914 was called on by Japan to surrender the territory, she agreed to give it back to China if compensated for improvements made. Japan would not consent to this.

Japan in her ultimatum declared to Germany that Tsingtau was to be turned over to China. She made the same statement in response to an inquiry from the United States as to her intentions.

Regards Tsingtau as Spoils.

She has, however, regarded Tsingtau as a spoil of war which should be given to her in recognition of her services to the Allies. She forced on China secret treaties which would extend indefinitely her rights there and would give her practical possession of the town and the port.

She imposed a condition in one secret treaty by which in event of restoration of Tsingtau to China a concession under the exclusive jurisdiction of Japan was to be established at a place to be designated by the Japanese Government; if the Foreign Powers desired an international concession it might be chosen afterwards; and the disposal of buildings and property formerly held by Germany was to be a matter of "mutual" agreement between the Chinese and Japanese Government. The mutuality of an agreement of that sort as shown by China's history would be something like that between the German Military Governor of Belgium and an honest and patriotic Belgian Mayor in 1917.

Has Already Selected Site.

Japan has already selected the site of the concession which is to be under her exclusive jurisdiction. "It constitutes the most important part of Tsingtau, including the port, the principal railway station and practically all the revenue-producing utilities" as explained by the Japan Chronicle of Kobe.

Through discriminatory regulations and taxes the Chinese and other Nationals were forced out of Tsingtau to a great extent and Japanese took their places. The Government lands, revenues from which had been devoted to improvement of the city by the Germans, were sold at nominal prices to Japanese syndicates which proceeded to install manufacturing enterprises thereon. The French were asked to give up the land on which their tennis courts were located and refused. They were about to be forced when Great Britain and France protested. Japan desisted. The war came on and Japan through discriminatory taxes forced confiscation of the land.

Demands Concessions First.

In response to various suggestions as to turning over Tsingtau to the Chinese, for over four years Japan said nothing publicly. A few months ago, the war having closed, she intimated her willingness to consider turning it back if China would pay therefor by valuable railroad and other concessions. It transpires now that secret treaties forced on China had provided for such an adjustment.

Now it is said that even if Tsingtau be turned back to China it still will be controlled by the Japanese, and if China attempts to restore former conditions Japan will seize upon it as a pretext for war. She has used her

four years of possession so that the interests of China and of Japan's partners and allies will be effectually wiped out. It remains to be seen whether the Peace Conference and the Allies and the United States will stand for this arrangement.

Already Reaching Farther.

With her power thus established in Tsingtau and its hinterland of Kiaochou, Japan, following her established principle, sought control of the entire Province of Shantung, the plea being that such control was necessary to protect her rights in Tsingtau. The Chinese Government was forced by the same secret treaty method "to give full assent to all matters upon which the Japanese Government may hereafter agree with the German Government relating to the disposition of all rights, interests and concessions which Germany, by virtue of treaties or otherwise possesses in relation to the Province of Shantung."

Under another secret agreement, this time made with the Chinese Minister to Tokyo in 1918, but never ratified by the Chinese Government, the control of the Shantung Railway, running through the province, and of the entire railway zone, becomes Japanese without qualification and without time limit. Article 6 of that agreement guards against any disturbance of Japan's position by the Peace Conference, for it provides that, regardless of what disposition shall be made as to ownership of the railway, it shall be placed under joint management of China and Japan. Japan, through Obata, insisted that this agreement did not need ratification by the Chinese Government, being purely a "commercial agreement."

How It Was Done.

The Japanese Government last Autumn advanced $10,000,000 to China, through her trusted representatives, in return for the transfer to Japan of the options allowed Germany in 1913 on an extension of the line to the Peking-Hankow Railway, with an option on construction of a branch from Kaomi to Hsuchow, at which point it would make connection with the Belgian trans-continental line from the sea coast to Turkestan. China has not yet learned what became of all the money. Some of it, apparently, was used for fostering trouble between North and South China, by supplying arms and pay for an army for the north. Clearly there was something crooked about this agreement on the part of some one in China, for, when China offered to expose the secret treaties to the Paris Conference, Japan threatened to publish, and did publish, this Shantung Railway agreement.

Baron Makino, in February, made a defense of Japan's acts in China for the Paris Conference, in the course of which he said that the details of this agreement as to Tsingtau and Shantung had not been made public under a mutual understanding, and because they were preliminary to certain business matters, as yet in an incomplete stage. He stated positively, however, that "the agreement is in no sense oppressive, nor does it provide for illegitimate or arbitrary control by Japan of any territory or China's territorial rights."

"The Germany of Asia."

It is true that some conditions of some of these secret agreements do not seem onerous to an outsider, if in force between two Nations of equal strength and good faith. The best information as to what they mean for China, and other Nations, is to read in the record made by Japan's acts her interpretation of the powers which these agreements confer. The record is conclusive. Nothing else is necessary to establish the justice of the title of these articles—"The Germany of Asia." In Shantung, with a military controlled railway zone and Chinese officials bribed to complacency, Japan has been running things very much as in Manchuria. The methods were made in Germany, but the Japanese are apt pupils.

ARTICLE VII

The Korean Independence Movement

A Remarkable Instance of Passive Resistance By a Nation of 20,000,000 People—The Germanlike Repressive Measures of Japan—She Aims to Deprive the Koreans of Language, Recorded History and National Identity.

No man may know, until under exceptional advantages he has investigated the facts on the ground, how the march of events in the Far East has been concealed from Western eyes for years past by a thick veil, devised partly by Japanese cunning, and owing its effectiveness largely to the world's absorption in other matters. Material aid, too, was had from inadequate and congested cable facilities, which did not transmit ordinary business or personal messages—no matter how pressing— across the ocean in less than ten to fourteen days. War put the wireless in Government hands, barring private messages and news service, and made excuse for a censorship which has been used to the limit; so that, even since the armistice, we see things through that veil in such indistinct or distorted fashion that we know really nothing, and what we think we know we must some day unlearn.

So it is that the Western world has not learned yet the genesis, the meaning and the real facts concerning the Korean independence demonstration, commencing on March 1st—perhaps the most wonderful instance of national self-control and organized passive resistance for accomplishment of an ideal that the world has ever known. It is too early to prophesy, but it seems not unlikely that this Korean demonstration ultimately will have an effect on the Japanese policy and the future history of the Far East, which a revolution could not have accomplished.

Suppressing the Facts.

Japan attempted, and I think unwisely, to suppress the facts as to

this demonstration and permitted the publication in the Japanese vernacular papers of expurgated, exaggerated and colored accounts calculated to prejudice the world as to the motives and the acts of the Koreans.

For instance, every effort was made to suppress and prevent outside knowledge of the original proclamation, published all over Korea at the opening of the demonstration—a temperate, dignified, eloquent statement, which declined to deal in recrimination, which blamed the Koreans themselves, partly, for their troubles, but which insisted that they were entitled to national existence, of which they had been forcibly and unfairly deprived. It suggested that Japan, in restoring Korean independence, would do more towards regaining confidence of the world and insuring permanent peace in the Far East than could be done in any other way.

Every effort was made to prevent copies of this document getting out of Korea. Houses and individuals were searched—even while I was in Seoul two Americans connected with the Y. M. C. A. were arrested and searched in the belief they had copies of the document.

How the Proclamation Came Out.

So far as I know, the first accurate translation of that document was brought out by myself, and offered to the Japan Advertiser at Tokyo for publication and to the Associated Press. The Government forbade its publication. And so far as I can learn, the first copy to reach the United States is that which I brought to San Francisco and which was given out by the Associated Press there.

In Honolulu I was informed that the newspapers there could not receive reliable accounts of the Korean trouble through letters from their Tokio correspondents sent by special messengers, because no steamer passenger from the Orient was permitted to land on the Honolulu dock carrying letters for delivery, or mailing, unless such letters were turned over to postal officials, by whom they would be submittted to censorship.

It is within my own knowledge that fellow passengers on the Shinyo Maru who had with them correspondence concerning the Korean troubles for delivery to Honolulu newspapers, were asked to surrender them to the Customs and Post Office officials at the gate, and when they refused, were ordered to take them back to the ship and threatened with $1,000 fine if they attempted to deliver the letters. In my own case I was not permitted to carry off the Honolulu dock for mailing, a letter plainly addressed to the American minister at Peking, but, at order of the customs official, turned it over, with a nickel for postage, to the uniformed postal employe at his side.

How the Facts Were Learned.

With Mrs. McClatchy, I was in Seoul, the capital of Korea, for two days and a half during the demonstration, and secured a fair knowledge of the matter through intercourse with a number of Americans and Europeans, long resident in Korea, thoroughly familiar with the situation, and enjoying the confidence of Koreans, and, in several cases, eyewitnesses of leading incidents.

During these two days and a half we were permitted to go about freely in our rickishaws through the crowded streets, taking snap pictures; but we attempted no conversation with Koreans, lest we get them into trouble. We were early warned that we were being followed by two detectives in plain clothes, who made inquiries wherever we stopped as to our business and conversation, and particularly as to whether we talked to Koreans.

We traveled by rail through the length of Korea from Antung to Seoul and from Seoul to the southern end of the peninsula at Fusan, a journey of two daylights, and met on the train a number of Americans, long resident in the country, some of them Californians, and even Sacramentans, interested or employed in the American quartz-mining and gold dredging operations below Seoul. The first half of this journey was made on March 3d, the second on March 6th.

From sources in Japan, after our arrival there, I learned more. And this, then, is the story of the Korean independence demonstration, as I understand it.

Gathering for the Emperor's Funeral.

On Monday, March 3rd, the funeral of the former Korean Emperor Yi was to take place. Yi was not entitled to particular consideration at the hands of his people, and up to the time of his death did not enjoy their affection. But his death transformed him into a National hero, for it was reported, and generally believed, by the Koreans that he had committed suicide in order to force a postponement for three years, under Korean custom, of the marriage of young Prince Yi, a boy, to a Japanese Princess. The Prince, nominally a guest of the Japanese Nation, is really a prisoner in his palace, permitted no intercourse with the Koreans, and never leaving the palace grounds unless in charge of Japanese guards. The marriage was dictated by Japan as one means of sinking Korean nationalism and aiding in assimilation of her people, and was correspondingly resented by the Koreans.

And so the worthless old Emperor suddenly became a hero to his former subject, 20,000,000 people, a captive Nation under Japan's iron rule. They desire to give him burial according to the ancient Korean rites, but this was refused them by the military government which rules Korea, and arrangements for a great Japanese military funeral with Shinto ceremonies went on apace.

From all parts of the Korean peninsula the Koreans flocked to Seoul, the capital, for ten days preceding the funeral, coming at the rate of 5,000 a day. Even on Monday, March 3d, as we traveled by train down the peninsula, we saw almost a steady procession of white-robed and curiously hatted Koreans walking on the highway toward the nearest railway station, that they might take train for the Capital. There had never been before in the history of the country such a crowd in Seoul.

A Well-Timed Demonstration.

Suddenly, on the Saturday preceding the funeral, March 1st, at 2 o'clock p. m., without warning or hint to the foreign population and without suspicion evidently on the part of the Japanese rulers, there was inaugurated in every large city of Korea

on behalf of its 20,000,000 subject people, a peaceful demonstration and demand for National independence. This demonstration continued in various forms throughout the Korean peninsula up to the date of our departure from Yokohama on March 17th. Since that time the veil which conceals or distorts happenings in the Far East has dropped for us, as it has for all Westerners.

In Seoul the demonstration consisted of a reading of the proclamation in a public park; of the rushing of many thousands of the white-robed Koreans down the wide main street shouting "Mansei," the Korean equivalent of the Japanese "Banzai;" of exhortation to students of the various schools to join in the demonstration, and to maintain a peaceful agitation until they secured national freedom; of an attempt to enter the palace gates and present a petition to the young Prince Yi, etc.

The police and gendarmes could not stop the crowd at first, but soldiers were called out, and clubbed muskets and swords were used effectively, over 150 prisoners being taken to jail that afternoon, some of them rather severely injured.

Somewhat similar demonstrations were made on Monday and on Wednesday, but they did not last long, the Japanese being prepared and several hundred demonstrators being made prisoners, among them some girl students. The demonstrations in other cities took on similar character.

Wonderful National Passive Resistance.

There was more or less severity attached to the arrest of the Koreans. Eye-witnesses have told me of girl students being set upon by Japanese coolies with clubs and stamped upon, and being marched off by the gendarmes and tied together in couples by their thumbs. Up to the time we left Seoul, March 6th, firearms had not been used by the Japanese in that city as far as I could learn, and while there were numerous injuries from clubs, clubbed muskets and swords, no Koreans had been killed.

The astonishing thing about the demonstration was, that under the terms of the proclamation and exhortation of the leaders, no injury was done to property, and no violence attempted by the Koreans, even in retaliation for what seemed unnecessary brutality on the part of gendarmes and soldiers in making arrests. This is the more astonishing when the temperamental character of the Koreans is had in mind, and their inclination to frenzy in mob formation, which in the early days of the Hermit Kingdom caused the death of several missionaries, who were torn to pieces by Korean hands and teeth.

The vernacular press of Japan during the first week of the demonstration was filled with accounts from special correspondents, declaring that in Seoul, and elsewhere throughout the peninsula, the Koreans had attacked, injured, and even killed gendarmes, police and soldiers and injured property.

Up to the morning of March 6th, when we left Seoul, I am confident no such thing occurred in that city; and I have reason to believe it did not occur elsewhere. The most conclusive evidence on this point is the interview published in the Japan Advertiser by the Japanese Minister of Communications, Noda, who with other high officials of the Government went to Seoul to attend the funeral of former Emperor Yi. Noda did not leave Seoul until March 5th, and his interview, published on his return to Tokio, declared that the Koreans had not committed acts of violence or injured property, either in Seoul or anywhere else in Korea.

Further Organized Efforts.

On the morning on which we left Seoul, five days after the demonstration commenced, there appeared on posts and walls, a second proclamation from the Korean leaders, though unsigned, in which the people were congratulated on the manner in which they had testified to Japan and to the world their desire to be free, and on the self-control and forbearance with which they had endured injury and arrest. They were reminded that as Koreans they must stand up for the sacred cause to the last man, and they were cautioned again to do no violence and no injury to property. "He who does this," the proclamation said, "is an enemy to his country, and will most seriously injure the cause." A free translation of the document was given me, while waiting for the train, by a missionary who had seen a copy of it.

It is not unlikely that in country districts the Koreans later may have been incited to retaliation by the methods of their rulers. The vernacular press of Japan for a few days gave increased circumstantial accounts of death or injury to single members of local gendarmerie, coupled usually with the significant statement in each case, that "casualties" among the Koreans amounted to forty, or sixty, as the case might be. According to these accounts the Japanese in the outside districts were, in instances, using firearms. The Koreans could secure no weapons unless clubs or stones. But these accounts had practically ceased when we sailed for California.

Meanwhile, the Koreans had carried on the policy of passive resistance, by closing up all the schools—the Korean children having ceased to attend, and by ceasing work in various public utility and manufacturing enterprises.

"Preliminary Examinations."

The Government had made arrests of about 4,000 agitators, and the trials of these Koreans, it was officially declared, would be commenced toward the end of March, after the "examination" had been completed. Preliminary examinations preceding trial at the time of the Korean conspiracy cases some years ago meant inquiry by torture, under which the helpless victim confessed to anything with which he was charged. In those conspiracy cases 106 prisoners thus confessed full guilt, and were sentenced on trial to punishment accordingly. The world having received an inkling of the facts, and the American and British Minister, it is whispered having suggested to the Japanese Government the propriety of further investigation, a second trial was ordered and ninety-eight of the 106 were adjudged innocent and discharged. Among them was one who was in prison at the time the offense with which he was charged was committed. I met in Korea Americans who had seen the scars inflicted by torture on some of these Koreans.

Some apprehend that the prominent leaders of the independence demonstration will be similarly induced during the "examinations" to make confession as to their pernicious activities, and what was behind them. But it is doubtful if Japan, with her past experience, and with the eyes of the world upon her now, will resort to torture. There is a growing sentiment in Japan against the despotic rule of the military in Japanese colonies, and that sentiment is quite sensitive to the world's opinion.

The Chundokyo.

The original proclamation was signed by thirty-three prominent Koreans, religious leaders and teachers, carefully selected so as to represent the Chundokyo, the Buddhists and the three Christian religions most prominent in Korea—the Methodist-Episcopal, the Presbyterian and the Catholic. It was intended thus to demonstrate to the world that the movement for independence was not factional. These leaders were, of course, at once arrested.

The first signature to the proclamation was that of the head of the Chundokyo; and here again the Japanese rulers received a distinct shock, for on the Chundokyo and on its head they had confidently relied for effective assistance in so subjugating the Koreans that there would be no trace left of their nationality in the coming generations.

The Chundokyo is a cult whose teachings are said to be a combination of Buddhism and Taiism, and ancestral worship and Korean superstition. The cult was encouraged by the Japanese on the theory, it is said, that it would stop the spread of Christianity, whose teachings, with the flavor of democracy which accompanied them, were believed to be bad for the political digestion of the Koreans. Once the cult had supplanted Christianity it could be made to serve the purpose of the Japanese by eliminating from its teachings those features which reminded the Koreans of their wonderful history as a Nation, and it would thus assist in their racial absorption by the Japanese.

However this may be, it is certain that the Chundokyo and its leader were playing the Japanese game, apparently, for years by inducing the Koreans to submit quietly to Japanese rule; that the Japanese encouraged its growth—it is said to have now about 3,000,000 members; and that, notwithstanding the Japanese espionage system and the spies who were doubtless located in various branches of the cult, Korean intrigue was a match for Japanese intrigue, and a Nation kept the secret until the time was ripe.

A Korean Manifesto in Japan.

In Japan a number of Korean students shortly before issued a proclamation for Korean independence, which was in effect a declaration of war. These students were arrested, tried and convicted, and are already serving terms in prison. That situation was easy to handle. The Korean National movement under leadership of the Chundokyo will prove a more difficult problem for Japan.

A Movement in World Democracy.

As to the inception of this Korean movement there is of course much of which I know nothing. I have reason to believe, however, that it was inspired in a way by the war and its assumed influence in making the world safe for Democracy; by a mistaken belief on the part of the Koreans that the principle of self determination of peoples, as enunciated by President Wilson, and as made the basis for certain decisions of the Paris Peace Conference, could be applied at this time to Korea; and that it was only necessary for Korea to declare her wish to be free, and Japan would be compelled to give her independence. I know personally some of the Koreans had that idea, and it would explain in part their carefully planned demonstration, indicating unanimity of sentiment, and their determined abstention from violence or retaliation, in order that the world might not be prejudiced.

The forcing of the young Prince Yi into a Japanese marriage, the belief that the old Emperor killed himself to frustrate that plan, the refusal to allow him burial by Korean rites—all these, doubtless, helped to fan the sentiment of the impressionable people into flame and make it easy to set the stage for the demonstration.

Then Japan has steadily made enemies of the Koreans, when she might have made friends. After another year, for instance, they will not be permitted to learn their own language in the schools—they must use Japanese exclusively. At present they are taught both languages. In countless other ways, following the German system of treating a conquered people, the Japanese have outraged the pride and sentiment of the Koreans, when the action would not seem necessary for the maintenance of Japanese sovereignty.

Koreans are gradually being deprived of all offices, even the patriarchal heads of villages being supplanted by Japanese with an increase of salary. It is made impracticable for Koreans to attend the high school. A Korean rickishaw man in Seoul is not permitted to earn his living in that occupation, unless he discards his national costume and adopts the Japanese. And I myself saw Japanese railroad officials and civilians treat inoffensive Korean passengers like dogs.

What Japan Has Done for Korea.

The Koreans impress most observers who have studied them as a kindly people who could be readily assimilated by the Japanese, if, after the first forcible acts of repression, military methods and control had given way to civil government; if Korean superstitition had been wiped out by education, but their language and their pride of race respected, and ambition created in them by conferring public positions on some of those who qualified for it.

It is claimed, with truth, that Japan has done many excellent things for development of Korea and improvement of sanitary and other conditions; and some insist that the Korean people as individuals are in a better way to progress under Japanese rule, rough and unkind and unfair as it is, than would have been possible as an independent Nation under the misrule of their Emperors, and the grafting official class.

The Korean woman, who was a slave, subject to the pleasure of her master, her husband, to work as he

ordered, and to be discarded when he wished, has now certain rights, and may secure a divorce on proper showing. Under the old system, the Korean man or woman, because of official graft and social conditions, had every incentive to develop into a bully or a coward, and withal a liar and a thief. The Japanese rule, notwithstanding the iron hand of the conqueror, is helping to improve some of these conditions. And this, notwithstanding that the Koreans, who claim they were originally free from venereal disease, and who had no prostitutes, have been introduced to the one by the Chinese, while the Japanese have forced on them the Yoshawara system, under which a woman may be sold or pledged to a brothel keeper for five years, though she may claim cancellation of the contract by appeal to Court.

The Japanese have built a good railroad running the entire length of Korea; are pushing forward the construction of excellent highways; have done remarkably good work in forestation of the barren hills; have made property and life safe; have inaugurated compulsory education—and even a common grade course for everyone is better than ignorance for the multitude. But they have wiped out any semblance of liberty; and liberty, with all peoples, is now the first consideration.

The Korean pays for all these improvements, and for the profit of his conqueror, in very high taxes; but he knows what those taxes are, and though they may amount to as much as 40 per cent, they still do not handicap him as did the confiscation which faced the old Korean who was found by an envious official to be acquiring a surplus.

How Japan Faces the Problem.

One of the interesting phases of the situation is the manner in which Japan faces the problem. Quite evidently she is nonplussed by the passive resistance of 20,000,000 people who offer no possible excuse, according to the world's standards, for acts of brutal repression, and who simply ask in a dignified and temperate declaration, or petition, for the exercise of that self-determination which their good friend, "Mister Weel-son," has assured them is the right of every people.

The stories of the vernacular press of Japan that acts of violence were committed from the start by the agitators was frankly and publicly denied by two of Japan's high administrative officials. The efforts to make ill-will by declaring that American missionaries had instigated the movement have been defeated by the result of an official Japanese investigation, which acquits those accused even of knowledge of the matter.

Apparently the Japanese Administration cannot save its face by making outside agencies responsible. A few Japanese journalists and publicists, who hold that the government of Japanese colonies by military authorities is a mistake certain to make trouble for Japan, have not failed to take advantage of this situation.

In the Japanese Parliament the Administration has been asked some very pointed questions looking to the merit of military repression in securing results in Korea and elsewhere, and indicating a desire, if not an intention, on the part of some to call for an investigation and to demand that civil commissions instead of military Governors shall hereafter control Korea and other outside tributary territory.

From statements made to me by Japanese of standing, I gather that the Korean movement has made such an impression on thinking Japanese that something will be done, probably. Not immediately, of course—the Administration must save its face; and it would not do to yield to a demand of this kind from a subject people, and thus acknowledge a blunder; but later, and gradually, when the action need not occasion international comments. Of course, independence will not be granted. If anything is done, it will be in the way of reforms in governing the Koreans, and in an attempt to make them feel less a subject people.

If I read aright between the lines of certain published statements, an effort will be made to have the Koreans modify their declaration or petition, and ask rather for reform in government and some voice in public affairs in place of the independence upon which they have set their hearts.

This Korean declaration, with the comment it causes, is only one of many evidences of a change that is taking place in Japan, which may before long treat its military rulers to a disagreeable surprise.

ARTICLE VIII

The Philippine Independence Movement

The Story of Intrigue Behind the Movement—The Danger of Independence Without Protection—How Votes Are Made for Independence and Who Is Likely to Profit Thereby.

Occasional reference is made in the telegrams from Washington to the presence there of Manuel Quezon, President of the Philippine Senate, and of a commission from the islands, asking Congress to grant independence to the Philippines. There have been recommendations favoring this petition from Burton Harrison, Governor General of the Islands (who has done more to discridit the American Nation in the Far East than any other official who has been there), and kindly messages from President Wilson and some of his Cabinet.

There is a very interesting story concerning this matter which any visitor to Manila will hear, much of which I know to be true and none of which I have any reason to doubt.

The Political Leaders.

The great political leaders in the islands at present are Quezon and Sergio Osmena, who is Speaker of the lower House of the Philippine Congress. Quezon is said to have more magnetism, Osmena to have the better balance. Aguinaldo commands the admiration of the natives and could easily become a political leader

if he would. Up to this time he has busied himself with farming and commercial pursuits, and has abstained from making a cry for independence the excuse for securing political position.

Quezon and Osmena were elected on the independence issue, on their impassioned insistence that the islands should be independent and the assurance if they and their followers were elected the end would be attained.

What Natives Are Told.

I met in Manila an American who attended some of the political meetings in the various islands, and who, unknown to the leaders, understood the three principal dialects. He told me that he heard some of these leaders assure the ignorant natives that if they secured independence they would be free of all taxes and obnoxious laws and restraint imposed by the Americans, and would be in a position to do what they pleased and to become rich while doing it. They were told that steady agitation for independence would bring it; and quite naturally they cast their franchises for the men who promised them all these things.

Given Autonomy.

As time progressed the United States gave a steadily increasing measure of autonomy to the islands, but there was no indication of immediate grant of independence. As a matter of fact, the intelligent leaders among the Filipinos became convinced that independence would bring destruction instead of prosperity to the islands.

They satisfied themselves that the United States could not afford to make them independent and at the same time guarantee that independence, thus becoming sponsor for the international policy and acts of a people who are not yet fitted to steer their state bark unaided; and if they were left entirely without the protection of the great Powers they would fall prey almost at once to Japan, which could easily find a pretext for hostile action.

Mental Reservations.

So while the leaders still talked independence, they did it with decided mental reservations. In 1916 the Jones bill for government of the Philippines was before Congress, and the Senate unexpectedly passed the Clarke amendment providing for absolute independence in four years from that date.

The Philippine leaders were stricken with consternation, and cablegrams and messages from the islands asked that the bill do not pass.

"Yes, of course, we are all talking independence—as a matter of fact, you see, we cannot talk anything else—political exigency—but for God's sake don't give it to us."

Their prayer was heeded and they did not get what they were publicly clamoring for.

Wanted Subject Ignored.

It is also reported and quite generally believed in Manila's political circles that Quezon, before the Paris Peace Conference commenced its labors, requested President Wilson to instruct the delegates from the United States not to bring up the subject of Philippine independence. Certainly, so far as the public knows, the subject was not brought up.

Meanwhile the opposition party, meaning, of course, the "outs," was making it extremely uncomfortable for the Government, meaning the Quezon-Osmena contingent, which is in.

The opposition claimed that the Government leaders had been elected on the independence issue, had pledged themselves to secure it, and yet had accomplished nothing in that line, and apparently had no intention of doing so.

Natives Betrayed.

As a result the native voters were being betrayed; they were not to enjoy all the beautiful things promised with independence. Was it to be tolerated? Of a certainty, no. Then rise, my friends, valiant members of a puissant race! Throw out these men and elect us, the opposition, in their place! We will be faithful to the trust!

There is nothing the matter with that argument, for it provides just the sort of molasses necessary to catch this particular kind of fly at this particular season:—And mark you, the elections are approaching. There was produced what Messrs. Quezon and Osmena would perhaps acknowledge in private to be an embarrassing situation.

There was but one way to solve it, apparently. The opposition was put in the same boat by the appointment of a non-partisan commission whose members were named from both parties; and this committee was entrusted with the duty of approaching Congress at Washington with a demand for independence.

Must Share Blame.

Now, if that demand fails, the opposition must share the blame with the Government, and the Quezon-Osmena party will be safe. If it succeeds—and Manila insists that the knowing ones are praying it will not—then they can only hope for long postponement of the day when Japan will find the foreign policy of the Independent Philippine Republic objectionable and take steps accordingly. What is to be, will be, and at least they did what they could to avert the fatal day. Kismet. Also Manana.

And then again, should the Republic of the Philippines be established as an entirely independent government, it would be necessary to have a President. Now, I ask who could discharge the duties of the position with greater dignity and credit than Quezon—or let us say, Osmena? And to secure enjoyment of that honor for a few years by either one of those patriots, is it not worth while to risk having the young Republic Koreanized by the voracious Japanese? For look you, my friends, Nations, like men, must take chances sometimes!

If this story be all true the lack of backbone and political honesty which could not frankly say, "We want independence with protection. We cannot afford to accept it at this time without," will be equally in evidence in governing an independent but helpless nation. And then the consequences will be more serious.

It is the general opinion of those familiar with conditions in the Far East and with the development of the Philippines in self-government that it would be no kindness on the part of the United States to remove its protecting hand for some time yet.

PART TWO

The United States destined to become a Japanese Province unless Japanese immigration is forbidden absolutely—The "Gentleman's Agreement" and Gulick's percentage plan only traps

In Five Articles

EXPLANATORY.

COMMENCING on June 12, 1919, the House Committee on Immigration, Hon. Albert Johnson of Washington, Chairman, held at Washington, D. C., an extended hearing in connection with the proposed bill offered by the "League for Constructive Immigration Legislation." Dr. Sidney Gulick, the founder and Secretary of the League, and originator of the plan, explained it in detail.

Subsequently there were read into the record of the hearing, in refutation of Dr. Gulick's theories and assertions, certain articles from The Sacramento Bee, written by the Publisher thereof, V. S. McClatchy, and published June 9th, 11th and 13th. Subsequently, on September 25th, Mr. McClatchy appeared before this committee, and later, on October 10th, before the Senate Immigration Committee. The facts and figures thus presented by him have stood since without disproval; and they covered not only the features of the bill and probable results of its passage, but also the existing conditions in connection with Asiatic immigration.

In response to many requests, the articles (slightly revised), are published in this form for general distribution.

It developed during the June hearing, in the testimony of Dr. Charles McFarland, Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America, that the organization named was not then furnishing funds for Dr. Gulick's work, and that he was being financed, partly at least, by Andrew Carnegie, through the Commission on Peace and Arbitration.

THE FUTURE OF THE REPUBLIC AT STAKE

(Editorial from Sacramento Bee, June 17, 1919.)

The experience of the past four years has convinced most Americans that our immigration and naturalization laws are entirely too liberal, and that if we are to preserve the high standards of American citizenship we must be more careful in the selection of material from which that citizenship is moulded. The sentiment is general that immigration if it be not stopped for some years, should be restricted and carefully selected.

With the prevalence of that sentiment it has been an easy matter during the past year to organize what is called the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation, and to secure for it endorsement and subscriptions from a long list—one thousand, it is said—of representative and loyal Americans from all walks of life and entertaining many shades of political opinion. In that list are found Governors, public officials and politicians, University presidents, bank presidents, prominent editors, lawyers and physicians, National labor leaders and heads of Chambers of Commerce.

It now develops that the main object of the promoters of the enterprise is not the same as the intent of this long list of endorsers; that the "constructive immigration legislation" suggested is intended by those promoters simply as a means for opening our gates to Asiatic immigrants and making them eligible for naturalization; and that this purpose was not generally apparent to the one thousand National Committeemen of the League when their endorsement and their subscriptions for a movement ostensibly to restrict foreign immigration in the interests of American citizenship were solicited.

The whole story, with an overwhelming array of facts and figures, largely from the promoters themselves, was told in three articles written by the Publisher of The Bee.

Under the "Gentlemen's Agreement," whose spirit called for a restriction of Japanese immigration similar to that enforced against the Chinese by law, Japan is sending us 10,000 to 12,000 of her subjects a year openly and more across the border clandestinely. Our Japanese population, instead of decreasing, has multiplied six-fold since 1900. The Chinese population has decreased to between one-half and one-third of the original number. And the Japanese birth rate per thousand in California communities where they have concentrated is five times the white birth rate and increasing.

Nearly half the population of Hawaii and more than half the annual births are Japanese; and that territory will be governed in a few years, under present conditions, as a Japanese province though under the American flag. What has happened there is an indication of what has already commenced in California.

It has been conclusively proved that the two civilizations will not exist together; that under economic competition, and because of difference in standards of living and in racial characteristics, the Anglo Saxon is displaced by the Japanese.

The "constructive immigration" plan and the proposed legislation will increase the evil and hasten the end. They are shown to be the work of Sidney Gulick, who has spent his time in this country, since his arrival from Japan five years ago, in the effort to secure adoption of his "new Oriental policy," which would open our gates to Asiatics as immigrants and citizens.

The chief value of plan and bill at this time is to offer proof of The Bee's charge that Japanese propaganda is carried on as systematically in this country now as was German propaganda before the War; and that the most efficient propagandists are loyal but misled American citizens.

The facts presented in The Bee's articles seem to demand at once such protective measures as can be applied to diminish the consequences of our blunder and Japan's bad faith.

The "Gentlemen's Agreement" should be at once canceled, and all Japanese immigration, including picture brides, forbidden by law, as is done in Canada and Australia—such a law as Japan herself imposes against China and Korea; Japanese should be prevented, if possible, leaving Hawaii for the mainland; and laws forbidding ownership of land by aliens not eligible to citizenship should be made effective.

It is pertinent at this time to ask why this country should adopt, at the request of Japan or any other Nation, a principle under which races are to be admitted in the future, not on the basis of their value to us as citizens but in proportion to the number of their fellows who are already here; why we should admit as immigrants, much less as citizens, the various peoples of Asia in the face of present knowledge and the experience of Hawaii and California; why if it be desirable to restrict immigration, we do not fix the number we are willing to admit, and select, on merit and because of their value to us in upbuilding a homogeneous people, the most likely individuals from those offering?

Shall we hereafter conduct this Nation so as best to preserve its institutions and insure its perpetuity? Or shall we, as in the past, open our doors on request or demand, to the elements that will make for disunion in a national crisis, and invite a yellow flood that will eventually dispossess the white race?

These are questions which must be decided now; and on a wise decision may depend the future salvation of the world's great Republic.

(From The Sacramento Bee, June 9, 1919.)

ARTICLE I.

Sidney Gulick's Mission to America—His "New Oriental Policy"—Securing Endorsement of a Great Church Federation—Organization of the League for "Constructive Immigration"—Why the Japanese Is Undesirable as Immigrant and Citizen

Japanese propaganda is being carried on in this country as determinedly and as successfully as was German propaganda before we entered the war. The end sought is the same—the conquest of the United States. The means are different. Conquest by arms was shown within the past two years to be impracticable. Conquest by "peaceful penetration" is now the plan.

There is now openly operating in the United States an organization whose work, if successful, will make the country in a comparatively few generations a province of Japan.

The promoter and manager of the organization is a professor of the Imperial University of Kyoto, Japan, who has been in this country on furlough for five years and engaged during that time in this work. The President of the organization is one of the organizers of the Japan Society of America.

So cleverly has the plan of organization been carried out under the guise of protection to American citizenship and restriction of immigration generally, that 1,000 representative American citizens in various States of the Union have given it innocently their endorsement and financial support.

The organization has prepared a bill for presentation to Congress which will let down the bars and pave the way for future contributory legislation to hasten the end.

The first work of the promoter, five years ago, was to secure the endorsement and financial assistance of a combination of Protestant churches representing over 100,000 ministers and over 17,000,000 members, which organization pledged itself to the scheme and efficiently aided it—also undoubtedly in ignorance of its full significance.

Hawaii is already hopelessly Japanese, that race now comprising one-half the total population of the territory, and having more than four times the number of Caucasian or any other race.

In a few years the Hawaiian-born Japanese will rule the territory by their votes, and rule it not as Americans, but as Japanese, while under the proposed legislation the Japanese vote would be given immediate preponderance.

What has already happened in Hawaii is now rapidly progressing in California, and it is only a question of time under existing conditions—and even without aid of the proposed legislation—when all the fertile spots of the State will be peopled by Japanese to the exclusion of whites.

Our civilization cannot exist beside theirs in the face of economic competition and a birth rate per 1,000 five times or more as great as ours.

What is happening in California will be brought about in all spots of the United States sufficiently fertile and advantageously located to attract the settlement of the Japanese, provided conditions permit their steady and rapid increase within our borders, as contemplated by the promoters of the plan.

If the plan now urged upon Congress be adopted this year the Japanese population of the United States will be 100,000,000 in one hundred and forty years from now, on the basis of a ratio of natural increase about half of that now shown by the Japanese in California.

Under the Gentlemen's Agreement, as now operated by Japan, the process would be slower, but equally effective. In either event this country would become a province of Japan.

This article is opened with the several remarkable statements above. By the great mass of Americans who do not know the writer, these statements will be classed as the vaporings of an inspired lunatic. They will appear particularly ridiculous to citizens east of the Mississippi River who have no point of contact with the peoples of the Far East.

There are many thousands, however, confined almost entirely to the Pacific Slope, who know the general situation, but most of these will be astounded at the details.

The statements are not only true in all particulars, but conclusive proof will be furnished in this and the succeeding articles.

Japanese Propaganda in America.

In previously published articles I have called attention to some of the methods of propaganda pursued by Japan for lulling this country into fancied security and keeping her eyes closed so that Japan's objects could be the more readily and the more quickly accomplished.

There are the various Japan-American Societies, organized ostensibly to promote friendly relations, but used generally to secure the active but innocent assistance of prominent Americans in propaganda work; the commercial and trade organizations used in the same way; the entertainment in Japan of prominent Americans, who come back with a dazzling picture of one side of the shield, and who apparently do not know that the shield has a reverse side; men like Gary of the Steel Corporation, Jacob Schiff, the banker, and others who in public speeches and interviews make assertions and give assurances which any one familiar with Far Eastern conditions knows are entirely wrong; banquets and speeches where most publicity can be secured; special annual Japanese numbers of American newspapers; public lectures and interviews with hired propagandists, both Japanese and American; Japanese news bureaus and magazines. Generally, these means are resorted to along the Atlantic seaboard and east of the Mississippi, where there is no Oriental question, where the public, being ignorant, will not question statements made, and where the greatest number of Americans can be reached with least effort and least expense.

It is thus that Japan has created a public sentiment in this country which must be corrected if the Nation is to be saved.

As will be seen from these articles, the propaganda has now taken on the form of enlisting the Churches in a demand based on the brotherhood of man and an assumed willingness to risk National interests in order to promote evangelization; and enlisting the intelligent classes of the community in so-called "constructive immigration" legislation saddled with conditions which will give Japan what she wants.

The Instrument of "Peaceful Penetration."

The organization referred to, whose promoters aim to secure in this, the most favored land of the world, homes for the surplus population of Japan, is known as the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation, with offices at No. 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

The President is Hamilton Holt of New York City, editor of the Independent, one of the organizers of the Japan Society of America and the recipient from the Mikado of the Japanese Order of the Sacred Treasure.

In its published list of one thousand sponsors and subscribers will be found the names of men of State and National reputation from every section of the country—ministers, lawyers, doctors, college presidents, newspaper editors, captains of industry, National labor leaders, heads of Chambers of Commerce, merchants Governors and capitalists. The great majority of these sponsors are men who would not knowingly associate themselves for a moment with a movement whose result would be such as here charged as the intent of the promoters of the league.

The organization is a remarkable tribute to the cleverness of the Japanese in the work of propaganda in this country. And in this case, as in the case of German propaganda before we entered the war, most of the effective work is being done by earnest and well-intentioned American citizens cleverly deceived and skillfully led.

The plan proposes to restrict all annual immigration from each race to a fixed percentage of the number of people of that race who are American citizens, whether naturalized or born here. The promoter explains that, so far as Chinese and Japanese are concerned, the number admitted under such a plan will be negligible and easily assimilated; and that a policy of the sort will salve the wounded pride of Japan by giving her nationals the same treatment as is accorded Europeans, and thus obviate chance of international complications.

Any measure for restricting immigration appeals to the average thinking American since the war, and, under such an explanation, it is not remarkable that prominent men throughout the country who know nothing of the experience of Hawaii and California with the Japanese and who had no time for investigation, gave endorsement and support to the movement.

Dr. Gulick and His New Policy.

The moving spirit in this enterprise, the promoter and manager, who bears the modest title of "Secretary," is Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, who describes himself on the title pages of some of his writings as "Professor in Doshisha University and Lecturer in the Imperial University of Kyoto, Japan."

Dr. Gulick was born of missionary parents in the Far East and reared there with adopted Oriental children. He was educated in America and returned to Japan as a missionary about thirty years ago and has made his home there since. He is an able man, speaks Japanese, and has written books on the Japanese.

In 1913 he left Japan on a furlough and has been in America since, at work in promoting his "new Oriental policy." This policy, briefly stated, contemplates "granting to Asiatics in this land the same privileges which we grant to citizens of the most favored Nations," and "placing in the Federal Government, instead of in the State, responsibility in all legal and legislative matters involving aliens." This policy would necessitate changes in the immigration and naturalization laws, and probably in the Constitution as well.

The Churches Take a Hand.

Dr. Gulick's first work on coming to this country was to secure endorsement of his "new Oriental policy" by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ of America, and he was employed, under salary, by the Council to promote the plan.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ comprises constituent churches of thirty Protestant denominations, with 103,023 ministers and a membership of 17,438,826. The list of denominations includes Baptist, Evangelical, Lutheran, Mennonite, Methodist (all branches), African (all branches), Presbyterian, Episcopal, Reformed, United Brethren and others. (Flowers.)

The Federal Council has a "Committee on Relations With Japan," and in 1914 one-fifth of all the Council's revenues were used by this committee. The Council had then no committee on relations with any other Asiatic Nation. (Flowers.)

The Council has endorsed the "new Oriental policy" of Dr. Gulick, probably in the belief that an adjustment of international and race relationship along lines satisfactory to Japan would render more easy the promotion of the Christian Gospel among the Japanese.

It is unlikely that the ministers of the 100,000 American churches who have been committed thus to this movement have much knowledge of the facts which appear in these articles; it is certain that they do not realize the gravity of the situation. The 17,000,000 church members, with few exceptions, probably have little knowledge of the matter, but the action of the Council gives them a definite interest therein.

Constructive Immigration Legislation

The measure proposed by the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation and endorsed at a called meeting in Washington of persons interested in immigration problems — presumably members of the League—is apparently the same as suggested tentatively by Dr. Gulick. It proposes to so amend the immigration and naturalization

laws as to conform to his "new Oriental policy," and incidentally it imposes certain restrictions on general immigration.

The measure limits the maximum number of immigrants in a single year from any Nation, race or group having a single mother tongue, to 3 to 10 per cent of those from the same land who are already naturalized American citizens, and of the native born, according to the United States census.

There are other features, however, which are important, to be considered in connection with this declared principle, because they affect materially its practical operation.

First—Originally the ten per cent limit did not include aliens coming to join a husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, grandfather, grandmother, grandson or granddaughter. Later this exception was limited to father or grandfather, wife, mother, grandmother, or unmarried or widowed daughter coming to join relatives already here.

Second—All laws and understandings as to exclusion of Chinese and Japanese are to be canceled, and all such nationals now here, or such as may come hereafter, are to become eligible for citizenship.

Third—Any alien who seeks admission to the United States because of religious persecution in his own country, either in overt act or through law or regulation, is to be admitted and become at once eligible for citizenship.

Fourth—Any number of aliens may be admitted if they come as "students," and no provision is made for their return to their own country.

Further study may disclose other features having equally vital bearing on the operation of the proposed measure.

Japanese Undesirable Immigrants.

Criticism of this proposed legislation in these articles is confined generally to consideration of its effect upon our Japanese problem, and is based on the postulate that the Japanese is for us an undesirable immigrant, and an undesirable citizen.

He is an undesirable immigrant for economic rather than for racial reasons, and the strongest of these reasons are creditable rather than discreditable to him.

His standards of living are lower than ours; he will work longer hours for less money; he is thrifty, industrious and ambitious; he is a competent farmer, truck gardener and orchardist; he can and does underbid American labor whenever necessary in any community, until he has driven it out; then his wages rise to American standards; ultimately he declines to work for wages, insisting on leasing where he cannot buy the farm or orchard. The white owner finds it more profitable to lease on shares to the Japanese, who will work, under the co-operative plan, twelve, fifteen or eighteen hours a day, than to operate the place himself with white or Japanese labor, at high wages, for eight or nine hours' work. The whites will not mix with the Japanese, and gradually leave the community.

It is not in one industry, but in many, that the Japanese displace us. It has been repeatedly proven that our civilization does not survive in open competition with theirs — it cannot, unless we accept their standards of living.

An Undesirable Citizen.

The Japanese is an undesirable citizen because he does not assimilate. He does not intermarry, nor is it desirable that he should. He does not become an American, save in very rare instances, always remaining a Japanese. Even when born in this country, and educated in our common schools, he is still compelled to attend Japanese school before and after the public school hours. He is taught by Japanese teachers, who usually speak no English, and who have neither knowledge of nor sympathy with the principles of American government and citizenship. He absorbs Japanese ideals and patriotism, and that contempt for all other Nations which is the spirit of every Japanese school text book.

Our School Teaching Nullified.

The testimony of Dr. Gulick on this point, as given on pages 19 and 20 of his pamphlet, "Hawaii's American-Japanese Problem," will perhaps be considered conclusive. He says:

"It is not to be assumed that the education they (Japanese children) receive in the public schools, which they leave at 14 or 15 years of age is adequate to prepare them for citizenship during the six or seven years after they get out from under the influence of their American teachers. Most of these boys will be isolated from English-speaking Americans; they will be associated chiefly with men of their own race, imbibing, therefore, the Oriental ideas as they approach manhood. The mere fact accordingly, of American birth, public school education, and the requisite age, should not be regarded as adequate qualification for the suffrage; for it is to be remembered that during the entire period of schooling, not only have they been in Oriental homes, but the Japanese at heart have been diligently drilled in Japanese schools by Japanese teachers, many of whom have little acquaintance, and no sympathy with American institutions or a Christian civilization."

Again Dr. Gulick says on page 14:

"If, as Asiatics, they maintain their traditional conceptions of God, nature and man; of male and female; of husband and wife; of parent and child; of ruler and ruled; of the State and the individual; the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of American democracy, American homes and American liberty is impossible."

Japan Retains Control of Her People.

The theory of the Japanese Government has always been that once a Japanese, always a Japanese, and that the children of Japanese, wherever born, and under whatever circumstances, are Japanese, subject to the power of the Japanese Government. Even where an individual Japanese claims the right to expatriate himself, he is subject to the requirement that though he might be naturalized by another Nation, if he had not already served his term in the Japanese army, he must respond, no matter where he might be. In the same way, all children born of Japanese anywhere are considered subjects of Japan; and she exercises in California and in Hawaii the same rigid discipline over them

as to schooling and other matters, as would be exercised in Japan itself.

Dr. Gulick says, in the pamphlet already quoted, at page 38:

"The Japanese alone, of all immigrants, educate their children most earnestly in their National language and customs."

The Japanese Parliament, some two years ago, passed what was called the Nationality Option Bill, under which foreign born Japanese children might declare at the age of fifteen whether they wish to remain Japanese, or become citizens of the land in which they were born; but Japan reserves the right to grant or withhold permission. **So that even in this bill Japan specifically calls attention to the fundamental principle that a child born of Japanese parents anywhere is a Japanese subject, with the duties and obligations thereof, and may not renounce those obligations save with permission. It should be noted, too, that this bill, like all bills passed by the Japanese parliament, does not become operative unless and until promulgated by the Emperor; and so far as my knowledge goes, it has not yet been promulgated.**

(From The Sacramento Bee, June 11, 1919.)

ARTICLE II.

Present Conditions as to Asiatic Immigration—Hawaii Half Japanese—Japanese Votes Will Soon Rule Where Japanese Influence Now Dominates—Japanese in United States Multiplying—"Picture Brides"—White Industries and White Communities Displaced—California's Experience

Explanation has been made of the endorsed plan of the Federal Council of the Churches of America and of the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation, as proposed and promoted by Sidney L. Gulick, "professor in Doshisha University and Lecturer in the Imperial University of Kyoto, Japan," and as now presented by him on behalf of the organizations named, to the American public and to the Congress of the United States; the organization of the two associations has been gone into and some hint given as to the probable interest which their chief promoters have in the subject of "constructive immigration" legislation, so formulated as to carry out the "new Oriental policy" of Dr. Gulick; the probability of making good American citizens out of Japanese, even if born here and educated in our public schools, has been considered; and, on the authority of Dr. Gulick, himself, that probability appears to be so remote that, unless the Japanese change their present characteristics and customs, "the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of American democracy, American homes and American liberty is impossible."

The White Race or the Yellow.

The admission of Japanese to this country under such conditions as would permit their increase means the ultimate surrender of the country to them, as Hawaii has already been surrendered, and as California will be unless protective measures are at once adopted. It would then be only a question of time before the desirable sections of the United States, one after another, are peopled and controlled by the Japanese, and the land of the free and the home of the brave becomes a province of Japan.

Dr. Gulick insists that his plan will effectually limit the influx of Japanese and other nationals to a number which can be readily assimilated. I do not attempt to discuss the application of the measure to European nationals whom we may invite to come.

But so far as concerns Asiatics generally, and particularly Japanese, it is certain that this Nation cannot with safety assume that any number, however small as compared to our population, can be admitted with hope of assimilation or without grave danger to some or many American communities.

It must be remembered that the Japanese are the most prolific Nation with which we have to deal in immigration; that their births exceed their deaths annually by 700,000 or more, and that they are driven by necessity to find place for that excess population. No European Nation faces any such condition. The Japanese naturally are looking for the most desirable location for their people. But do we wish to surrender this country to them? Or shall we insist that this country shall be preserved for the white race? The issue is squarely before us, and we can not afford to evade or compromise with it.

An Economic, Not a Racial Question.

In this connection it must be remembered that the opposition to Japanese immigration on the part of those who have studied it is not based on racial prejudice, but on unanswerable economic grounds. Because of different standards of living, different tastes and different discipline, the Japanese easily drive the whites out of any community in which the two civilizations meet in economic competition. It is for this reason that the Japanese is an undesirable immigrant, for it is assumed that the American Nation desires to retain this country for the white race.

The economic factor referred to is recognized by the Japanese in their own environment. They forbid under Imperial Ordinance No. 352 the immigration into Japan of Chinese and Korean labor. The reason which they assign for this policy is precisely that offered by the Pacific Coast, and by Canada and by Australia for excluding the Japanese. They say that the standards of living of Chinese and Koreans are very much lower than the Japanese, and they cannot, therefore, in fairness to their own people, permit this cheap labor to come into Japan in competition. And because of the greater differences in various ways the American Nation needs more protection against Japanese immigration than Japan needs against Chinese or Koreans.

In December, 1918, 200 Chinese coolies were imported into the Prefecture of Hiroshima, Japan, to work

in a charcoal factory under contract for two years at one yen (50 cents) per day. Under instructions from the Government in Tokio the Japanese Provincial Governor refused to sanction their stay. Early in January, 1919, the coolies were shipped home from Shimonseki, and the entire expense of the enterprise ($25,000) had to be paid by the Chugoku Iron Works of Hiroshima, which imported the coolies.

The Herald of Asia of Tokyo, in commenting on the facts, said, in its issue of December 28, 1918:

"This is the first importation of Chinese labor into Japan. We hope that it will be the last experiment ever to be made. If it is brought into this country in any large force the welfare of our laborers will be seriously affected."

Japan's demand before the Paris Conference for "racial equality" was simply for the purpose of establishing a principle under which she might force her excess population into the United States, Canada, Australia and elsewhere on the same terms as might be accorded other Nationals. That demand was made in charming disregard of her own stand against the Chinese and Koreans; but Japan has learned that it is not necessary for her to be consistent in her dealings with America. She has thus far been conceded what she demanded, regardless of its absurdity or impropriety.

Conditions Under Existing Laws.

Before consideration is given to the changes which will be made by the operation of the proposed legislation, it is worth while to examine conditions as maintained under existing laws and regulations, and consider the inevitable results therefrom if the present policy is continued. Afterwards it will be shown how this condition will be made worse and the end hastened by the so-called "constructive immigration" legislation.

Hawaii and California afford at present the most illuminating example of what Japan seeks for her people under the Stars and Stripes, and what will be left for the white American if she succeeds. Remember, too, that the conditions to which attention will be called, have been and are being brought about under a so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement," the theory of which, as carefully explained to the Pacific Coast at the time, was that Japan was to restrict under her own regulations Japanese immigration to this country as effectually as Chinese immigration was restricted by our prohibitive laws.

The Lesson of Hawaii.

We commence with Hawaii; and in this matter we shall make Dr. Gulick our principal witness. In March, 1915, he made certain investigations in the Hawaiian Islands, the results of which were embodied in the pamphlet herein before quoted, "Hawaii's American-Japanese Problem," published in Honolulu by the Star-Bulletin. Unless otherwise stated, quotations credited to Dr. Gulick are from that publication.

Therein (page 8) Dr. Gulick states that for the preceding seven years (1908-1915) under the "Gentlemen's Agreement" no fresh labor immigrants had come from Japan. In 1910, he says, out of a total population in the islands of 191,909, the Japanese numbered 79,674, of which 24,891 were females. In 1914 the total population was 213,000, of whom 89,715 were Japanese, 24,550 Hawaiian, 24,450 Caucasian, 23,299 Portuguese, 21,631 Chinese, 14,992 Filipinos, and 14,518 all other races. In that year the Japanese school enrollment in the territorial schools was 30 per cent of the total.

In 1918 (according to a statement of the Superintendent of Schools of Hawaii—S. F. Examiner, May 18, 1919), the Japanese population had increased to 103,000, "nearly one-half the total population," while Japanese school children comprised 40 per cent of the entire enrollment, and of the increase in school children in 1917 and 1918, more than one-half was Japanese.

The 1918 report of Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane places the Japanese population of Hawaii in 1917 at 106,000, while the United States Bureau of Commerce estimates the total population at 219,000.

The American Year Book for 1917 says, as of June 30th of that year: "The estimated population (Hawaii) was 250,627. The Japanese contributed more than half the increase."

Japanese newspapers in Honolulu to-day have a large circulation, and one prints an English section.

In 1915 in Honolulu out of a total of 107 prostitutes, eighty-two were Japanese (Gulick). In 1914 the official register of Hawaii shows that out of 3,149 marriages, 1,806 were Japanese. In 1915 a large majority of the Japanese men—perhaps two-thirds—were married, women having been permitted to come from Japan to marry them (Gulick). The proportion has doubtless been increased since.

So in eight years the Japanese population of Hawaii has increased 24,000, or about 30 per cent, and now the total annual increase in population in this territory is more than half Japanese; while in four years past the Japanese school children have increased 30 per cent, and they already comprise more than 50 per cent of the yearly increase of school enrollment.

In the absence of immigration from Japan, as claimed by Dr. Gulick, the increase in Japanese population of Hawaii can be accounted for only by the great birth rate, stimulated by the importation of "picture brides." In 1907, when the "Gentlemen's Agreement" went into effect, the Japanese in California were nearly all males; in Hawaii, while I have not the figures, there were probably nearly four males to one female. The "picture brides" have been coming from Japan in a steady stream since. The census of school children shows the result.

The "Picture Brides."

The "picture bride" plan was doubtless originated to get around the intent of the "Gentlemen's Agreement;" to increase as rapidly as possible the number of Japanese under our flag; and particularly to defeat the operation of the alien land laws passed by several States, including California. Apparently the plan could have had no value in Japan itself, where the the average density of population is 389 per square mile, the highest in

the world for a similar stretch of territory, and where, if all the available women were staked out at equal distances throughout the Empire they would be only 300 feet apart in any direction.

This is the plan: A Japanese male who has secured admission to the United States sends his photograph back to Japan; and his friends, or the officials, secure for him a complaisant bride who weds the picture. For purposes of emigration to the United States, Japan recognizes this procedure as a marriage, and our Government, on request, has so recognized it. The bride, with the photograph she has wedded, sails for the American port and there on the dock, with the aid of the photograph, she selects her husband from the prospective bridegrooms waiting, and is admitted as an immigrant under agreement had subsequent to adoption of the Gentlemen's Agreement.

That woman promptly fulfills her duty by bearing children, as many as one a year, and each child is carefully registered as an American citizen, entitled to all privileges as such, including the claimed right of possessing land through a guardian.

Incidentally the woman swells the labor market, for she works continually in the shop or store, or field, with her child near her. She does the work of a man wherever she may be placed.

The accusation has been made that the "picture bride" does not always confine her usefulness to one husband, or even to one State, but is available where her services will have most value; and that is in the States which have passed anti-alien land laws.

The official figures by fiscal years obtained at Washington show that the total number of picture brides sent from Japan to the United States and Hawaii in less than five years past (July 1, 1914 to April 30, 1919) is 20,323, of whom 6,864 landed in Hawaii.

Japan Controls Hawaii.

Dr. Gulick says (page 15): "Within a score of years the majority of voters in the Territory of Hawaii will be of Japanese and Chinese ancestry." As a matter of fact, the Chinese cut very little figure, and the Japanese already outnumber the Caucasian, or any other race in the islands, in the proportion of at least four to one.

In the English section of the Honolulu Japanese newspaper, the Daily Nippu Jiji, May 26, 1919, appears the statement that "ten or fifteen years hence there will be a great hope for a dominating influence of the Japanese." That "hope" receives ample justification in these figures offered by the Nippu Jiji. The number of Japanese electors in Hawaii in 1910 was only 13; in 1912, 48; in 1914, 112; in 1916, 179. In 1919 there were 207 Japanese electors on the Island of Oahu alone (Honolulu is on this island), and many on the other islands. The Japanese children in the schools as they come of age will furnish in 1923, 897 male electors and 558 and 682 additional in the two years following. The total number of Japanese male electors in 1933 will be 7,934. If the vote be extended to women the number will be about doubled.

This situation induces the Japanese newspaper to proudly announce that in 1933 the Japanese vote in Hawaii will decide whether Republicans or Democrats shall win.

In Hawaii, therefore, it is only a question of a few years when, under existing laws and regulations, the Japanese born under the American Flag will outvote any other race; and in a generation they will probably out-vote all other races combined.

The Gulick plan, which makes every resident Japanese eligible for citizenship, would give the Japanese at once almost as large a voting strength as all other races combined.

A Lost Territory.

The situation as outlined induces the belief on the part of many that Hawaii is already practically lost to Americans and to the United States, and that there is not any feasible plan by which she can be reclaimed.

Indeed the Nippu Jiji in the issue above quoted declares that the Japanese now, to-day, "are in the position to exert dominant influence in the political and social affairs of Hawaii."

That this is no idle boast on the part of the leading Japanese daily of Honolulu is sufficiently attested by the following news item:

"Honolulu, May 31, 1919.

"The foreign-language school bill, requiring teachers desiring certificates to show a knowledge of the English language, American history and American civics, has been tabled by the Upper House of the Territorial Legislature. The bill was strongly opposed by Japanese educators and editors on the ground that it would force Japanese schools to close."

Consider in connection with this item the facts which have been stated before, as to the control of her people exercised by Japan in this country, the manner in which children are forced to attend Japanese schools, and imbibe Japanese principles and ideals. If a territory of the United States may not refuse a teacher's certificate to one who cannot speak English, and who knows nothing of American government and American ideals; if a territorial Legislature is subject to Japan's views as to American principles before the resident Japanese have secured the necessary voting strength, what will be the result after they exercise the franchise in sufficient number?

Control of Industry.

The dominance of the Japanese in Hawaii has naturally given them exclusive control of various industries, such as shoe making, which in years gone by employed only white labor. The Japanese is very adaptable and he reaches out, as soon as possible, for position and control in the most favorable localities, and in such occupations as offer least toil, shortest hours and most compensation. While he came to Hawaii as a sugar plantation laborer, he gets away from that toil when he can. The young generation particularly seek town occupations and most of them wish to go to the mainland because of the greater opportunities there.

California, the Nation's Outpost.

What has happened already in Hawaii is simply an indication of what is now happening in California. The Japanese does not waste his time on poor prospects when he can command good ones. California is to him the favored spot of the world, and in California he is carefully picking out the richest lands and choicest sur-

roundings, and systematically driving the white race from them. His predilection for California is sufficiently attested by the fact that two-thirds, perhaps more, of all the Japanese in Continental United States are living in California. California therefore offers the best and really the only opportunity for studying the problem and correctly estimating the results likely to follow the continued and increased immigration of Japanese into this country.

California is the outpost of American civilization, fighting against the "peaceful penetration" of the Japanese, and thus far she has had only abuse therefor from the States east of the Rockies, which she is defending. The present policy of the United States Government in permitting admissions under the "Gentlemen's Agreement," in opening the gates to "picture brides" and in discouraging —and preventing, when it can—the passage of State laws limiting the effects of the evil, has created a critical situation which makes remedial measures the more difficult.

Our Japanese Population.

It is very difficult to ascertain the number of Japanese now in the United States. There are no official Government figures since the census of 1910. The only figures available are those furnished by the six Japanese Consulates in Continental United States for their respective districts. According to these reports, the total Japanese population in Continental United States in 1916 was 94,370 of which only 2,381 were in the Chicago District, and 2,781 in the New York District. All the balance are credited to the four Pacific Coast Districts, and of these San Francisco and Los Angeles Districts have 74,556, Seattle District 9,232, and Portland District 5,403. San Francisco and Los Angeles Districts cover six States, but the greater portion of the population credited to those two districts is in California, to-wit—55,095.

In 1916, 1917 and 1918, the Japanese population must have been largely increased. Dr. Gulick says that Japanese immigration in 1918 alone amounted to 10,213 and that for 1919 it will probably be 12,000. In California alone in the three years named there were 12,000 Japanese births. It is not unreasonable to say that, on the basis of these estimates, the Japanese population of Continental United States is not far short of 150,000.

Again, the United States census of 1910 gives the number of Japanese in the United States as 72,157, of which 41,356 were in California. The Japanese births in California alone from 1910 to 1918 have been over 23,000. The official reports of the United States as quoted by the New York Evening Post in its Japanese number, March 16, 1918, show that the number of Japanese entering the United States, 1910 to 1917, exceeded the number departing by 54,317. Allowing for births elsewhere than in California and for immigration in 1918 as estimated by Dr. Gulick, and for deaths, the present Japanese population would be well over 150,000.

California the Test Ground.

It is safe to say that not less than two-thirds of the total, or 100,000, live in California. In California, too, the Japanese have concentrated to a great extent in the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys where rich lands and agricultural advantages attract them.. For instance it is noted that of 4,108 Japanese births in the State in 1917 over 3,000 are credited to seven of the fifty-eight counties. This concentration is one of the phases of their "peaceful penetration," and it enables us the better to judge of results when their number will have become sufficiently large to take possession of all the favored locations in the State instead of the few they now hold. It furnishes sufficient answer, too, to the argument that 150,000 Japanese distributed among 100,000,000 Americans can work no harm. The 150,000 are not distributed so as to make the weak solution referred to. They throw their entire force into a few communities where they can make their numbers, with their economic advantages, tell, and they choose those communities, those industries and those conditions which will yield them most return for least effort.

The Increase of Japanese.

As to the increase in Japanese population in this country which may be looked for under present conditions, and without any contributory legislation of the "constructive" character suggested by Dr. Gulick, these facts are significant:

The United States Census showed that in 1900 there were in the United States 24,326 Japanese, of which 985 were females—a proportion of about 25 to 1. In 1910 the Japanese population had trebled, the figures showing 72,157, of which 9,087 were females—a proportion of 7 to 1. The estimates already made above indicate that since 1910 the Japanese population has more than doubled, and it is known the proportion of females to males has very largely increased.

Increase of Japanese in California.

In 1910, three years after the "Gentlemen's Agreement" went into effect, there were in this State about six Japanese males to one female. With the introduction of the "picture bride" plan, the proportion of females has very rapidly increased. **It is now perhaps one to four or less. The result is sufficiently attested by the fact that Japanese births in California in 1917 numbered twenty times as many as in 1907, though the Japanese official reports claim that the total Japanese population of the State had increased in that time only about 40 per cent.**

The biennial report of the California State Board of Health, July, 1916, to July, 1918, shows the following as the registered number of Japanese births for the respective years, from 1906 to 1918, inclusive: 134, 331, 455, 682, 719, 995, 1,467, 2,215, 2,874, 3,342, 3,721, 4,108 and 4,365. Total for thirteen years, 25,298.

Due to the increase in Japanese births above indicated, the percentage of white births to the total in the State has steadily decreased from 98.4 in 1906 to 90.6 in 1917.

In Sacramento City Japanese authorities claim to-day a Japanese population of 2,580. The United States Census for 1910 showed 1,437 Japanese in the city. The total white population of the city now is about 75,000. The report of the State Board of Health for the year 1918 shows within the city 177 Japanese births and 1,073 white births.

That is to say, the Japanese birth rate per 1,000 in Sacramento City is already five times as great as the white birth rate. As the influx of "picture brides" raises the proportion of females in the Japanese colony, the birth rate will steadily increase without a doubt. The average Japanese births per month in Sacramento City have doubled since 1914—that is from 10 to 20.

The report of the State Board of Health above quoted shows that in the rural portion of Sacramento County, outside of Sacramento City, in 1918 there were 236 Japanese births and only 221 white births, although the white population is many times as great as the Japanese. There are no population statistics available for this year, but in 1910 the census shows 2,437 Japanese and 19,335 whites in the county outside the city.

According to the Los Angeles Times of June 30, 1919, the Japanese births in the County of Los Angeles, outside the incorporated cities, for the month of May, 1919, were one-third as numerous as the white births. Los Angeles County is the most populous county in the State, with a large suburban and country population. The Japanese population of the districts referred to is a small fraction only of the white population in those districts.

The increase in Japanese population in the Pacific Coast States will receive additional impetus under the Gulick plan from the fact that all Japanese in Hawaii, whether born there or born in Japan, will be free to come to the mainland, and that most of them will wish to do so because of the attractions it offers to them. See Dr. Gulick's statement in his Hawaiian pamphlet before referred to.

The Chinese Problem.

The Chinese and the Japanese have been mentioned in the same category by the proponents of the "constructive immigration" legislation in such a way as to give the impression that the conditions affecting both and the Nation's problem as to both are the same. That is an entirely erroneous impression. The Chinese, under the operation of the Exclusion Act have steadily decreased in number. The Japanese, under the "Gentlemen's Agreement," which was supposed to secure the same result without hurting Japan's pride, have steadily and rapidly increased.

In Hawaii in 1900 the Chinese numbered 15,301; in 1910 there were 21,674, but there has apparently been no increase since then, Dr. Gulick's figures for 1914 being 21,631.

In the United States there were in 1900 89,863 Chinese; in 1910 the number was 71,531. There are no available figures since then.

In California the Chinese numbered in 1890, 72,472; in 1900 45,753; in 1910 36,248—a decrease of 50 per cent in twenty years, and there has been a steady decrease since.

Sacramento County shows the same decrease—1890, 4,371; 1900, 3,254; 1910, 2,143. These are all U. S. Census figures.

The Chinese births at present are only about one-tenth the number of the Japanese births. In the entire State the total births for 1917 were: Japanese 4,107, Chinese 419.

The Chinese, in addition to having no increase from immigration, are steadily decreasing from departures to China and from a death rate which is now about twice the birth rate. The State totals for 1917 were: deaths 818, births 419; and for the twelve years, 1906-1917—deaths 8,547, births 3,683.

In contrast therewith not only do the Japanese receive large accessions from immigration, but their birth rate is now between four and five times as great as their death rate, while in 1906 their death rate was several times their birth rate. The steady increase of birth percentages has been due, of course, to the importation of "picture brides." In 1917 the births were 4,108, deaths 910; in 1906, births 134, deaths 384; and for the twelve years, 1906-1917, births 20,933, deaths 6,775.

The Chinese therefore do not present a National problem because of probable increase under existing conditions and laws, while the Japanese do present a very serious problem.

Wiping Out American Communities.

Now for another phase of the problem: The destruction of home and family life and the wiping out of American communities under stress of Japanese competition and methods.

The town of Florin in Sacramento County, eight miles southeast of Sacramento City, in the heart of the strawberry district, has a Japanese population of 1,050, supplemented in picking season by about 500 more. The Japanese proudly point to it as a monument to their methods and enterprise. It is all that they claim for it. It is more. It is a gravestone to the hopes of the former American population of Florin, almost entirely wiped out by contact with Far Eastern civilization. It is a warning finger post to California and to the American Nation as to the inevitable end in all favored spots in this country if the "peaceful penetration" of the Japanese is not arrested.

The Japanese did not create Florin or the strawberry business. The Japanese do not create. They imitate, improve, appropriate. In the memory of young people of to-day, Florin was an exclusively American settlement of five, ten, twenty-acre farms, devoted largely to strawberry and grape culture, on each farm a happy home, the Sacramento daily newspaper delivered at each doorstep. The town was the center of the district and from it were shipped berries and grapes in carload lots as far east as the Missouri River.

The Japanese saw and coveted. They secured a few farms in the center of the district and gradually added more, and they improved the culture. The economic and social pressure gradually drove the white families away, and in time even the town and its business passed into the hands of the Japanese. To-day there is no American newspaper distributed in that district, and it is in effect a part of Japan transplanted into the heart of California. The school for the entire district has a total attendance of 147 and 101 are Japanese. In one class there are forty-one Japanese and six white children.

Walnut Grove, on the Sacramento River in Sacramento County, is now a

Japanese settlement. Most of the rich river ranches in the delta of the Sacramento River are now managed by Japanese under lease, where they could not secure ownership under law, and the white resident and his family have melted away.

The Economic Pressure.

On the American River, about twelve miles east of Sacramento City, is the little station of Mayhew, the shipping point for the productive orchards and vineyards for miles around. In years past white labor was employed in these orchards, and many families resided in the district, the women and children assisting in the work of picking and packing the crop, while the little red school house did its work in constructive American citizenship.

To-day, while the orchards are still owned by the whites, they are leased to Japanese, the help is all Japanese, and most of the white families have disappeared. There is only one owner who still manages his own property, and with white help; but to do it he must send out during the busy season for transient labor, working short hours at high wages. And he is in competition with the surrounding Japanese-managed orchards, operated under the co-operative system, with ambitious, interested labor, working sometimes fifteen and eighteen hours a day. And he must send his young children by stage to Sacramento City every day for schooling. For the district school is attended by Japanese, interested in learning English for business purposes, and no American mother will permit her little girl to remain in school with grown Japanese youths. When it is said that this orchardist could make more money from his holding by leasing to Japanese than by operating himself, with white labor, or even with Japanese labor, the great economic pressure will be better comprehended.

There are similar instances in the adjoining County of Placer, where, it is said, 80 per cent of the orchards are leased to Japanese, and some schools show as many as five Japanese children to one white. Through the San Joaquin Valley will be found similar settlements of Japanese, and similar results as to displacement of whites.

Japanese authorities claim—and it is probably true—that the Japanese produce in California 90 per cent of the strawberry and cantaloupe crop; 80 per cent of onions, asparagus, tomatoes, celery, lettuce and cut flowers; 55 per cent of cabbage and seeds; 40 per cent of potatoes; 20 per cent of beans, and 10 per cent of the grapes, fruit and rice.

This estimate was made early in 1918, probably based on 1917 statistics. In the items of rice and fruit it is certain that the percentage is now much greater than quoted.

In June, 1919, the consumers and dealers in San Francisco were forced to protect themselves by boycotting strawberries, because the Japanese growers in combination were forcing dealers to pay as high as $17 per chest, while the canneries were given a price of $9.10.

California's Efforts at Protection.

California passed in 1913, notwithstanding the earnest protests of the Federal Administration, an Alien Land Law bill similar to that already passed in certain other States. In those other States the same measure had met no opposition from the Administration, the reason being that the Japanese are more solicitous as to securing privileges in California, where for the present they are centralizing their efforts, and had made no protests as to such legislation in the other States.

The California act forbids the selling or leasing for more than three years of land to any person not eligible for American citizenship. Some good resulted, but recently the Japanese have evaded the provisions of the act by placing title to land in the names of Japanese babies born in California, and by organizing corporations with dummy directors and purchasing land in the name of the corporations. The Secretary of State reports seventy-two such corporations formed between January 1, 1918 and March 1, 1919. One such corporation took over a 171-acre Fresno county orchard in May, 1919, at a price of $171,000. In Tulare County it is declared that the Japanese bought last year over 5,000 acres of bearing orchards.

The session of the California Legislature in March, 1919, attempted to remedy the matter through a bill amending the act by forbidding leasing entirely, and by preventing the use of incorporations for the purpose named. The bill was killed at the request of the Federal Administration lest there be complications with Japan.

At the same session a bill was introduced limiting the age of admission to the lower grades of the public schools, the association of little girls with grown Japanese youths having been found objectionable. The bill was killed at the request of the Federal Administration lest there be complications with Japan.

At the same session a measure was introduced looking to stopping the further admission of "picture brides" into the State. The measure was killed at the instance of the Federal Administration lest there be complications with Japan.

At the same session a bill was introduced to segregate the Japanese and other Asiatics into separate schools. Killed at the request of the Administration lest there be complications with Japan.

In Collier's for June 7, 1913, will be found an article by Peter Clark MacFarlane, describing conditions of Japanese settlement in California as he found them. He was sent out by Collier's to investigate the matter because of the general opinion in Eastern States that California was unduly prejudiced.

At the Border and In Washington.

The rich Imperial Valley lies astride our National border, partly in California and principally in Mexico. It is already peopled largely by Japanese, who find it an easy matter to evade custom officials and enter the United States here. The Japanese are displacing whites in the valley, not only in agricultural pursuits, but also in business, by cleverly concerted economic pressure.

In this valley is located a large tract of land, nearly 1,000,000 acres,

owned by Americans of Los Angeles and elsewhere, which a Japanese syndicate some time since endeavored to purchase. Public attention was called to the matter through the press at the time, and the plan frustrated.

In Seattle, in the State of Washington, the Japanese have commenced to displace the whites in general lines of business to an extent thus far not seen in any other large city. This condition is undoubtedly due to the encouragement offered by the people of Seattle in the belief that the city's trade with Japan would be thereby materially increased. It is now a question with the Seattle people, as expressed in published interviews, whether they are not already paying dearly for their whistle and whether the price to be paid in the future will not be alarming.

It is important to study these and similar phases of the problem, for they demonstrate with certainty what will happen in every desirable agricultural section of California as soon as there are here enough Japanese to accomplish the result.

The figures already given prove conclusively that, even without more favorable immigration legislation, the Japanese only needs time to take possession of what he finds desirable in California.

And what he will do in California he will do later in other States that offer attractive advantages.

(From The Sacramento Bee, June 13, 1919.)

ARTICLE III.

Points and Effects of Constructive Immigration Bill—Admits Sixty Germans to One Frenchman or Hollander—Will Give the United States 2,000,000 Japanese Population in Forty Years and Over 100,000,000 in One Hundred and Forty Years—Safeguards Which Should Be Adopted

In the two articles preceding an outline has been presented of our present Asiatic immigration problem, more particularly with regard to the Japanese. Following is a brief of the points thus far made:

The Chinese.

So far as the Chinese are concerned, there is at present no problem. The statistics show that under the operations of the Exclusion Act, and because of the scarcity of women and great excess of deaths over births, the Chinese population is very rapidly decreasing. In twenty years it decreased 50 per cent. In Hawaii there are now about one-fifth as many Chinese as Japanese; in Continental United States perhaps about one-third.

Again, the Chinese is more valuable and less undesirable as immigrant and born citizen than the Japanese. That is the general opinion on the Pacific Coast, where there is the best opportunity for judging. The Chinaman is reliable and honest—no other countryman, not excepting the American, has so high a standard of commercial honesty. He is less aggressive than the Japanese, less inclined to take offense, and with a higher sense of humor. He is more inclined to remain in fixed occupation and less dangerous to American labor and to American institutions. The American-born Chinaman makes a better citizen because China has not the hold on him that Japan has on the Japanese.

The Japanese as a people—as their statesmen and high-class merchants regretfully admit—are at present neither honest nor reliable.

The Japanese Problem.

The Japanese problem, on the other hand, is a very serious one. While the introduction to these articles assumed as a postulate that the Japanese is an undesirable immigrant and an undesirable citizen, that assumption was later reasonably well established by the record of his accomplishments in Hawaii and California, and by the published testimony of his present champion, Dr. Sidney Gulick.

The declared purpose and promised effect of the "Gentlemen's Agreement" when it was adopted in 1907, in deference to Japan's representations, was that it would accomplish through Japan's action a restriction on Japanese immigration similar to that secured by our Exclusion Act on Chinese immigration.

The agreement has been grossly violated in letter and in spirit. At present 10,000 to 12,000 Japanese are being sent through our continental ports each year openly, and unnumbered others are secretly crossing the Mexican border. United States Senator Phelan charges that this border immigration is promoted with the knowledge, if not assistance, of Japanese authorities, including Consular officials, and any one conversantwith the manner in which the Japanese Government retains authority and control over Japanese in this country even over those born here, knows that this secret immigration could not continue without knowledge thereof in Consular offices.

In order to increase the resident Japanese population as rapidly as possible over 20,000 "picture brides" have been admitted in five years past, and they have performed their allotted task of bearing Japanese children as rapidly as possible—frequently, if not usually, at the rate of one per year. In California the Japanese birth rate per thousand is already five times as great as the white birth rate, and increasing.

Under the understanding, the Japanese population of Continental United States should have decreased since 1900, as has the Chinese. Instead it has multiplied six fold. There are already 150,000 Japanese in this country, about two-thirds of them in California, and three-quarters of that allotment have settled in seven of the State's fifty-eight counties, where they are concentrated generally in a few communities.

The manner in which the Japanese displace white labor in industries and entire communities has been explained and concrete examples furnished. It is evident therefrom that Japanese to the number of a small fraction of the whites in any State

can take absolute economic control of the most favored sections of that State if they once secure entrance.

Hawaii's situation under existing conditions is hopeless. The Japanese already comprise almost half the entire population and four times as many as the Caucasian or any other race. More than half the yearly increase in births and school enrollment is now Japanese. In a few years the native-born Japanese vote will hold the balance of power, and in a generation can defy a combination of all other races in the Territory. The proposed "Constructive immigration" legislation would bring about that result immediately by making Japanese eligible to citizenship; and the power thus obtained will be used by them as Japanese, not as Americans. Nothing could be more conclusive on this point than the testimony of Dr. Sidney Gulick himself.

Dr. Gulick explains how the Japanese, even when born under the American flag and taught in our public schools, is drilled in loyalty to Japan and her ideals by compulsory attendance in Japanese schools and by association with his own race. He says that if the Japanese in Hawaii maintain their traditional conception of themselves, their neighbors and their duties "the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of America Democracy, American homes and American liberty is impossible."

The leading Japanese newspaper of Honolulu has been quoted in its boast —well founded — that the Japanese soon will control the territory of Hawaii by their votes. It adds that they are even now in position to exert dominant influence in the political and social affairs of the territory; and that statement was fully confirmed when the Territorial Legislature in May, 1919, on the demand of the Japanese, killed a bill which provided that the territory should not issue teacher's certificates to those who did not have some knowledge of the English language, and of American history and civics.

What has happened in Hawaii is happening in localities in California and will be extended if protective measures are not adopted over this Coast, and ultimately throughout the Nation.

Conditions, Now Bad, Would Become Worse.

To one who has studied the situation, it is evident that our immigration and naturalization laws should be amended at once so as to minimize as far as possible the evils existing and the greater ones which threaten in the future from the maintenance in our midst of an alien, unassimilable and rapidly increasing Asiatic population. It would be suicidal to inaugurate a policy which will inevitably increase that evil and lead in time to the conquest of the white race by economic elimination.

It is the purpose of this article to show how the passage of the proposed "constructive immigration" legislation, formulated by Dr. Sidney Gulick and endorsed by the league he has organized, or the adoption of the policy therein outlined, would increase the evil rather than alleviate it.

An outline of the bill which Congress is to be asked to pass was presented in the first of these articles. It proposes to make effective Dr. Gulick's "new Oriental policy" of opening our gates to all Orientals on the same basis as accorded to the most favored Nations. Incidentally it limits immigration in any year from any race to a fixed percentage—three to ten—of the members of that race citizens of the United States, either by birth, as per the census of 1920, or by naturalization in any year, and has several minor provisions. The outline of the bill as used in these articles was secured from the printed matter issued by the New York headquarters of the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation.

Criticism of Bill's General Principles.

First there are offered for consideration a few suggestions as to the general principles embodied in the bill.

1. Why establish at this time a principle under which we shall obligate ourselves in a measure to accept any percentage at all of the nations of the earth as immigrants and citizens?

Even if such policy is wise now it may not be a few years hence, and the precedent established may cause awkward complications.

2. Why include all nations in the category? The mere fact that one race has been permitted to secure citizenship for some of its nationals in the past is not proof that the action admitting them was wise, or that others of the same race may be accepted as immigrants and citizens with advantage.

3. Why place all nations on an assumed basis of equality when it is clear that some nations will generally furnish much more desirable citizens and immigrants than others? And is it not possible that certain nationalities may be regarded favorably as immigrants and citizens now and unfavorably some years hence?

4. Why base the number of admission from each race in the future on the number of those already here? If we have made mistakes in the past are we not to be permitted to correct them? In the past, with the exception of Orientals, those came to our shores who desired to come, not those whom we selected. Under such circumstances are we to bind ourselves to exclude desirable immigrants and citizens because undesirable ones have more racial brothers already here?

Proportions Imposed by Bill.

Let us see to what the bill of the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation would commit us in the way of selective immigration. Consulting the tables of the Census Abstract for 1910, so far as they can assist in the matter, to ascertain the number of citizens naturalized and born, of the different races, which must serve as the basis of our admissions annually, we get the following astonishing result:

For every single immigrant that we are willing to accept under the Gulick plan from France, Holland, Wales or Mexico, after the first thousand to which any Nation is entitled, we are committed to accept the following number from each of the respective countries named: Germany 60, Ireland 30, England 15, Canada 15, Russia 10, Austria 8, Sweden 7, Italy 7, Norway 6, Scotland 4, Denmark, Hungary and Switzerland each

2. From Belgium, Portugal and Spain we could not admit a single immigrant unless we admitted from 100 to 600 Germans, and a corresponding number of other nationalities as enumerated. As between Chinese and Japanese we would be called on in a short time to admit ten of the latter to one of the former.

Slightly different results in estimates of this character will be obtained according to the sources of basic information as to citizens, born and naturalized, and according to incidental assumptions indulged in. Dr. Gulick furnishes an estimate according to which we would have to admit only thirty Germans for every Frenchman, Hollander, or Mexican.

Estimates of this character, no matter by whom prepared, if based on any reliable statistics will furnish results demonstrating the utter absurdity, from an American point of view, of the percentage plan of restriction.

If we are to amend our immigration laws so as to maintain or raise the standard of American citizenship and insure the perpetuity of the American Nation, we should not commit ourselves to admit the peoples of the earth in any such proportions as called for by this plan.

How Japanese Immigration Would Increase.

In estimates of this kind it must be borne in mind that the basic factor of native born under the Gulick plan will be taken from the 1920 census, which will be first available in 1922. There is an incentive for a large birth record prior to that date. It may, or may not, have any significance that during the five years of Dr. Gulick's activity in the interests of this matter, 1914 to 1919, Japan sent over 20,232 picture brides who have faithfully performed their allotted task of increasing the Japanese birth record.

If there be an undesirable element in our immigration, which will not intermarry or assimilate, it may not therefore, be so much the actual number admitted as their future increase which should give us most pause. It should be remembered that in California the official records show that in certain localities where they have concentrated the Japanese have a birth rate five times as great as the whites, although their females, in proportion to males are only perhaps one-fourth as numerous as among the whites! Under such conditions it would be only a question of time when the Japanese in this country would exceed in numbers another race which at this time might be twenty times as numerous here. Even the advantage which the other race might have at the start in allotment because of its number of naturalized citizens, would not prevent it being overtaken in time.

Evangelizing Japanese for Citizenship.

The proposed measure makes all Asiatics here or to come eligible to citizenship, and encourages their coming inasmuch as it fixes a proportion within which they may be admitted, while under existing understanding they are classed as undesirable.

Dr. Gulick says in his pamphlet published in 1915, "Hawaii's American-Japanese Problem," as quoted in the first article:

"If as Asiatics they (the Japanese) maintain their traditional conception of God, nature and man; of male and female; of husband and wife; of parent and child; of ruler and ruled; of the State and the individual; the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of American democracy, American homes and American liberty is impossible." The Japanese born and educated in Japan, with very rare exceptions, certainly do retain these conceptions even while living in the United States.

Dr. Gulick again says that the Japanese born here and taught in our public schools, are not thereby prepared for American citizenship since they are drilled before and after public school hours at home and by Japanese teachers, most of whom do not speak English and "many of whom have little acquaintance, and no sympathy with American institutions or a Christian civilization."

Why then is Dr. Gulick so solicitous to have the United States establish a principle by which the Japanese will be formally recognized as desirable immigrants and citizens and encourage conditions which will greatly increase the number of native born Japanese? The answer appears in the same pamphlet, and is quoted below:

Gulick's Experimental Plan.

"Is it not axiomatic that the successful welding together of the many races now in Hawaii in such wise as to make possible the maintenance of genuine democracy, with progressive victory over graft, lust, venereal disease, and alcohol, depends upon the substantial Christianization of the rising generation of Asiatics?" * * *

"American and Asiatic civilizations rest on postulates fundamentally different and antagonistic. The two civilizations cannot be assimilated, but this does not prevent an Asiatic under proper social conditions from giving up his inherited civilization and adopting the American. Exactly because Hawaii is the meeting place of so many diverse races is the propaganda and practice of vital Christianity the more pressing."

Evidently Dr. Gulick is satisfied, notwithstanding all the difficulties, he points out, that a Japanese may be turned into a valuable American citizen by acceptance of Christianity, assisted doubtless by other minor agencies.

It would appear, therefore, that Dr. Gulick in promoting his "New Oriental Policy" and urging the adoption of his proposed "Constructive Immigration" legislation is willing to risk a grave menace to American citizenship and the safety of the American Republic in order to promote a doubtful experiment in evangelization.

But should we permit Dr. Gulick's optimistic enthusiasm in evangelization to lead the Nation into serious difficulties? And will the Japanese Government encourage or permit the Christianizing of its people in return for our endorsement of Dr. Gulick's "New Oriental Policy?" And if the Japanese are unanimously or generally evangelized under this arrangement, may we safely assume that they will at once lose all those characteristics which have made them, in Dr. Gulick's opinion, poor material for American citizenship?

I do not wish to be considered a

pessimist, but it would be untruthful to say that I do not entertain grave doubts in the matter.

A Question of Policy.

Dr. Gulick insists, too, that the United States will benefit by the proposed law, as the number of Japanese immigrants admitted will be less than under existing conditions. He declares that in 1918 10,213 Japanese were admitted, and that in 1919 the number will be 12,000; and that the number admitted under his plan, even on a 10 per cent basis, will be much less. As shown later, he is clearly mistaken on this point, but concede for the moment that he is right.

Dr. Gulick frankly allows that the adult Japanese, when he arrives here, is an undesirable American citizen, and that even the American-born Japanese, under existing conditions, is not likely to make a good citizen. His figures prove that the Japanese Government is steadily violating the spirit of the "Gentlemen's Agreement," under which the Japanese were to be kept out; and yet he recommends urgently that we formally recognize the Japanese as eligible to citizenship and encourage them to come in by establishing an annual Japanese immigration quota.

Dr. Gulick claims American citizenship, but I am at a loss to understand his reasoning. It would seem to me, under such circumstances, since the Japanese make poor citizens and the Japanese Government is deliberately violating the intent of the agreement, a staunch American citizen would urge our Government to cancel at once the "Gentlemen's Agreement," to stop the importaion of "picture brides," to bar further Japanese immigration and to encourage the individual States to pass alien land laws.

In other words, the first care of an American citizen would naturally be for the protection of American institutions and the American franchise, rather than solicitude to meet the demands, inconsistent and probably harmful to us, of a foreign Nation, however friendly we might be with that Nation.

THE PLAN INCREASES JAPANESE IMMIGRATION.

It has been suggested already that the bad faith of Japan in shipping to us each year 10,000 or more Japanese in violation of the letter and spirit of the Gentlemen's Agreement is not a good reason for formal recognition by us of the Japanese as immigrants and citizens, even if thereby we receive annually a smaller influx legally than is now forced on us illegally. While Dr. Gulick claims the admissions will be smaller, the facts contradict him. He has published tables showing the highest allotment to Japan annually under the percentage plan as 5,800. But this estimate is for 1918 and preceding years based on the assumption that the plan had been put into effect in 1910. He offers no figures for the future in which we are really concerned, so far as I have read, except in an article published in the New York Independent in May, 1919, wherein he declares that the Japanese immigration under this plan in 1935 will not exceed 5,400.

I have carried Dr. Gulick's tables beyond 1918, where he stops them, and far into the future—two hundred years—which is short enough time to consider in the life of a great nation like this. The details of those tables will be reserved for another article. This summary will suffice for present purposes.

If the Gulick plan were in force on July 1st, 1919, and no immigrants were admitted in excess of the "allotment" to each race, the Japanese immigration for each of the years 1919, 1920 and 1921 would be cut down to 2,500. In 1922 it would be 7,500—the census for 1920 being then available with the record of native-born. In 1923 or 1924 the allotment would be increased by 10 per cent of the number of present residents, who would have become naturalized, say less than 25 per cent, 50,000; and each year thereafter it would be increased by 10 per cent of the number of those immigrants coming in five years before, who had become citizens.

The annual immigration in either 1923 or 1924 would therefore jump to a figure in excess of 12,500, and would steadily increase thereafter, reaching 16,000 in 1933 and 23,000 in 1943.

Increase In Japanese Population.

The increase in total Japanese population is, however, the important and the alarming feature. At present the records in California show a net annual increase of Japanese population, due to excess of births over deaths, of between 3½ and 4 per cent. Assuming that this increase will be only 2 per cent in the future, and that the total Japanese population in 1923 will be 300,000 (the present population is estimated at 250,000), the population including immigration would double in less than twenty years. In 1943 it would be 875,000.

◆ At the same rate, in forty ◆ ◆ years from 1923, the Japanese ◆ ◆ population of the United States ◆ ◆ under operation of the Gulick ◆ ◆ plan, would be, in round fig- ◆ ◆ ures, 2,000,000; in eighty years, ◆ ◆ 10,000,000; in 140 years, 100,000,- ◆ ◆ 000. ◆

Long before then the white race would have succumbed in the economic competition and the world's glorious Republic would have become a province of Japan!

Results under the Gentlemen's Agreement as now operated by Japan will be slower of attainment, but equally certain in the end!

All Asiatics Eligible.

The bill makes all Asiatics on admission to the United States eligible for citizenship. The effect of this in the territory of Hawaii would be to create at once a citizenry of Japanese almost equal in number to the voters of all other races combined and four times as numerous as those of the Caucasian or any other race.

These Japanese would manage Hawaii—not as a territory of the United States but as a province of Japan. The testimony offered on this score in these articles is convincing.

Another effect of this provision would be to permit the newly made citizens in Hawaii to come to the mainland and swell the number of their race in California. They would come, as they are eager to settle in California because of its superior advantages in many ways. They could come many thousands strong and still leave enough of their race in

Hawaii to control it. They are not supposed to come to the mainland now under the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

There are many Asiatics who are less desirable as citizens and immigrants than the Japanese. Our objections to the Japanese are based on grounds which are in a measure creditable to them; but certain other Asiatics, while not offering the danger in economic competition which we find in the Japanese, are objectionable on other grounds—sanitary, physical and mental.

The Student Provision.

The student provision permits any number of "students" to come in, and no provision is made as to their occupation while here, or as to their return. **Under this provision many thousands of Japanese could come into the United States, attend school for a few months and then distribute themselves through the country as laborers. This is so patent that it seems strange it would have escaped the attention of the framers of the bill.**

An Asylum for the Persecuted.

Again, it is proposed that any alien claiming religious persecution in his own country, either in overt act or through law or regulation, shall be admitted into this country on application and become at once eligible for citizenship.

This country cannot longer afford to serve as an asylum for every one claiming persecution elsewhere, however unfitted he may be for American citizenship, if we are to maintain a standard of citizenship which will insure the perpetuity of the Nation.

Under the provision named we would have to admit without question every Russian Jew, every Armenian and every Christian Asiatic who might be persecuted in his own country. There would be in all of these classes individuals who would make desirable citizens, but it would be unwise to pledge ourselves to admit every one who applied.

It cannot be doubted that the responsible heads of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America, and nearly all—possibly all—of the one thousand National Committeemen who stood sponsors for the "new Oriental Policy" and the percentage plan for restriction of immigration put forth in the name of the League of Constructive Immigration Legislation had no knowledge of the facts given to the public in these articles and no conception of the results which may be feared from any encouragement of Asiatic immigration.

SUGGESTED SAFEGUARDS.

Consideration of the facts presented in these articles naturally suggests the following as points worthy at least of careful thought on the part of Uncle Sam in connection with the immigration problem:

Why not decide now and for all time that our immigration policy, our naturalization policy and all our National policies shall be based, not on what someone else desires or demands, but on what is best for the comfort and happiness of the loyal American citizen, for the maintenance of the American home and for the preservation of the American Nation?

If it be wise to restrict immigration, and our experience indicates that it is wise to do so, why not decide on the number we care to admit each year, and select them from the most desirable who present themselves, regardless of the number of their respective races who are already here? Let each applicant be judged on individual merit.

So far as the Japanese are concerned, since the facts conclusively demonstrate that their continued immigration threaten our labor, our industries, our economic life, and eventually our existence as a Nation, why hesitate to adopt at once the only remedial measures which can save us. These remedies, as originally suggested by me are:

First—Cancellation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

Second — Exclusion of "Picture Brides."

Third—Absolute exclusion of Japanese as immigrants, as other Asiatics are excluded.

Fourth—Confirmation and legalization of the principle that Asiatics shall be forever barred from American citizenship.

Fifth—Amendment of Section 1 of Article XIV of the Federal Constitution so as to provide that no child born in the United States of foreign parents shall be eligible to American citizenship unless both parents are eligible to such citizenship.

OUR INTERESTS OR JAPAN'S?

Against these suggestions there will be raised at once the objection that all or any part of the measures proposed will hurt Japan's pride, and must not be attempted. There does not occur to me any other objection that might be offered.

They should not hurt Japan's pride, for they are based on economic and not on racial grounds. They are in effect the same measures which she enforces against the Chinese and Koreans, who are, too, of the yellow race, and for precisely similar reasons. They are measures enforced against Japan by Canada and Australia, notwithstanding that Great Britain is Japan's ally. And the Paris Conference declined to consider Japan's demand for recognition of the question under the head of "Racial Discrimination," because Australia most vigorously protested, and because Japan's claim was inconsistent and untenable.

And if, notwithstanding all this, Japan shall insist that her pride will be hurt if we protect ourselves in the manner indicated, and that we must not do it, then it would seem to be up to the American Nation to say, very politely, that, much as it pains us to run counter to the susceptibilities of our good friends in Japan, our first care must be for the perpetuity of American institutions, and the freedom and happiness of our people, as the first consideration of Japan must be for her own people and their ideals.

(From The Sacramento Bee, July 29, 1919.)

ARTICLE IV.

Our Japanese Problem, the "Gentlemen's Agreement" and the Percentage Restriction Plan—Gross Violations of the Agreement—The Proposed Plan Will Largely Increase the Present Illegal Immigration—Either Plan in Time Will Make a Japanese Province of This Country—A Mathematical Demonstration.

THE Saturday Evening Post is the first American magazine of large circulation published in an Atlantic environment to give a fair, intelligent, statesmanlike and American presentation of the vexed subject of Japanese immigration.

This is done in a lengthy article by Herbert Quick under the title "Seventeen Year People," published in the issue of June 28th, and devoted to a consideration of the undesirable, damaging and locust-like elements which descend upon American citizenship through the open immigration gates, and from which we must be protected if American institutions are to be preserved.

OUR COUNTRY.

Mr. Quick puts the matter fairly when he says in effect that **this is our country and we are under no obligations to admit any foreigner; that we should tactfully but firmly let the world know that we claim the right to exclude anyone we wish to exclude; that the life of this democracy depends upon the sort of immigrants admitted; that the discussion of the Japanese immigration problem should be encouraged and not frowned upon; that there is nothing discreditable to the Japanese in our attitude on this question; that we will not admit them because they do not and cannot assimilate, and because, in economic competition, they drive our people to the wall; that we will not admit immigration freely under such conditions from any country, no matter what the consideration offered or the consequences involved; and that we have the right to make such a decision and the power to enforce it.**

WHY WE SHOULD NOT ADMIT JAPANESE.

He says: "We have become unfitted for competition with such a race as the Japanese. It is because they know their superiority to us in industrial competition that they desire to come, such of them as do so desire.

They come to underlive us and drive us to the wall unless we adjust ourselves to their competition. They can pay more for land than an American can pay, and prosper at the higher prices; and this means that they have the power to establish a lower scale of actual wages."

NEVER AGAIN.

And again he says: "One of our most insoluble troubles as a Nation rises from the existence among us of a colored race; and, make no mistake, we shall never allow another similar problem to grow up among us."

MAY THE EAST SEE THE LIGHT.

The principles outlined by the Saturday Evening Post author are precisely the principles for which the Pacific Coast has contended for many years; they are the principles for which California contended when she attempted to protect her little girls by compelling grown Japanese youths to attend separate schools, and when she attempted to protect her agricultural population by passing an Alien Land Law; they are the principles which up to this time it has been difficult for a man east of the Rockies to appreciate or understand, while he insisted that the Pacific Coast attitude is simply a manifestation of racial prejudice against a friendly Nation.

AN ECONOMIC ONE.

The question is an economic rather than a racial one, and where the element of race enters as a factor there is no question of inferiority involved. It has been sufficiently demonstrated that the Japanese can not be transformed in the melting pot into desirable material for citizenship, as can most Europeans; and that in the attempt to so transform him the white people of this Republic must go to the wall.

ENOUGH REASON.

That is sufficient reason for refusing to permit the entrance of Japanese; and when Japan insists that such refusal is humiliating to her pride she is indulging in diplomatic camouflage in order to win her point. She will follow that policy as long as it promises success.

Quick Misled.

While the author of the Saturday Evening Post article has admirably outlined the principles upon which the great problem must be solved for the permanent protection of the American Republic, he has been misled in two important matters concerning existing conditions and the imminence of the danger.

Gentlemen's Agreement and Gulick Plan.

He says, for instance, concerning the present arrangement, that "Japan and the United States are working under a gentlemen's agreement under which Japanese laborers do not come to the United States. It is a gentlemen's agreement, which is kept in a gentlemanly manner;" and again that "Japan keeps her agreement faithfully, but she is not satisfied."

VIOLATES IT.

The fact is that there could not be more flagrant violation of a gentlemen's agreement than Japan has been guilty of in this case.

She boasts that she always keeps her agreements, and through skillful propaganda some Americans have commenced to believe so. Her bad faith is boldly placarded on her record in China, in Korea, in Manchuria,

in Siberia, in Shantung, where those who have had relations with her have experienced it, and where the student and investigator may readily read it. In this immigration matter the record, as will be shown, is unmistakable.

MISLED BY GULICK.

Herbert Quick has been misled again into believing, on the authority of Sidney L. Gulick, that the bill proposed by Gulick in the name of the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation, restricting immigraton to a percentage basis, would permanently "confine Oriental immigration to limits of absolute harmlessness," and that it would therefore satisfactorily solve the Japanese problem.

On the contrary, the Gulick plan would insure a greater immigration from Japan than is now coming to us, and by which in time the Pacific Coast, and ultimately the nation, would be submerged.

Japan's Violation of Agreement.

The Gentlemen's Agreement provides a guarantee on Japan's part that she will not permit Japanese laborers to come to this country. But every year a number of Japanese, guaranteed by Japan under the agreement, are turned back at our entry ports by United States Customs officials, because of indisputable evidence that these men are laborers.

Her Explanation a Joke.

Japan's explanation is that it is not practicable for her to avoid being made the victim of deception at times by those seeking to come to the United States.

The statement that the Government of Japan would not know, or could not readily ascertain, the occupation and intimate personal history of any one of her subjects will be hailed as a joke by anyone familiar with the German-like intelligence system maintained by that Government.

12,000 COMING.

Japan sent us last year over 10,000 immigrants. This year there will be 12,000, according to Dr. Gulick. Each immigrant comes bearing Japan's passport and her word as a gentleman that the newcomer is not a laborer.

Most of them will be found at labor, skilled and unskilled, within a few weeks after they step ashore.

Japan may class them as dilettanti for passport purposes, but they are laborers in fact or in intent before they start, because of the chance of earning here from five to ten times what they can in Japan. Our officials admit them presumably because there is no evidence to disprove Japan's assurance.

50,000 "Non-Laborers."

Since Japan passed her word as a gentleman in this matter in 1907 there have settled **in California alone about 50,000 Japanese, duly certified as non-laborers.**

The number is ascertained by comparing California's Japanese population in 1907 and 1918, and making allowance for the recorded births and deaths in that interval.

It is comparatively easy for any investigator to satisfy himself that most of these immigrants secured places at once as laborers, and, with exception of those who graduated into bosses, have been laborers since.

Of those who did not labor the greater part went into gainful occupations that, directly or indirectly, displaced white residents and American citizens.

PICTURE BRIDES.

In less than five years past Japan has sent over 20,323 "picture brides," of which number all but 6,864 came to the mainland. Most of these picture brides are laborers, doing a man's work in field or shop, and incidentally bearing children, frequently at the rate of one per year.

ALL VIOLATIONS.

Every Japanese who came to this country since the date of the agreement in 1907, and who has earned his livelihood by labor since, scores a violation of the agreement and of Japan's word; and any one familiar with the situation knows that these violations are already numbered by the tens of thousands.

No; Japan's bad faith and Uncle Sam's blind complaisance have made a scrap of paper of the Gentlemen's Agreement.

If Japan is to be permitted to continue sending these people in at the rate of 12,000 a year through the immigration office, and unnumbered others across the border, let us at least cease to fool ourselves as to what is occurring, and who is responsible therefor.

Gulick Plan Worse Still.

Now as to the remedy, enticingly offered by Sidney Gulick and his League for Constructive Immigration Legislation in his proposed percentage plan for restricting immigration. Dr. Gulick explains—and Herbert Quick accepts the explanation—that as Japan is faithfully keeping the Gentlemen's Agreement, the percentage immigration plan is a desirable thing, because the Japanese immigration under it will be less than under the present agreement.

A Parallel.

Assuming—for the moment only—that Japanese immigration under the Gulick plan would be less—the plea to adopt the plan is a piece of quiet, and of course unintentional, humor. The case is parallel with that of the highway robber who, having exacted annual tribute of $10,000 to $12,000 in violation of his word "as a gentleman," makes a proposition to his victim that for certain valuable concessions and considerations he will inaugurate a plan under which he claims the tribute shall be much less, though it will really be more in a short while.

WILL JAPANIZE US.

In the present case the consideration demanded is the permanent acceptance of the Japanese as immigrants and citizens.

The plan proposed, too, while it is guaranteed to decrease Japanese immigration, as now sent in violation of the Gentlemen's Agreement, will really increase it.

THE GULICK TABLE OF RESULTS.

The Gulick plan proposes to restrict the immigration from any race in any year to a percentage, say 10, of (a) the American-born children of that race, according to the census of 1920 when the figures are available, and, until then, according to the census of 1910; plus (b) the naturalized members of the race according to the last census; plus (c) the members naturalized since such census (and the Bureau of Naturalization is instructed to compile and furnish such data annually).

Tables are offered in support of the contention that the percentage plan would permit less Japanese immigration than the present arrangement with Japan. But these tables deal only with the past, showing that if the proposed measure had been adopted in 1910 the highest annual "allotment" to Japan between 1910 and 1918 would have been 5,800, while the average immigration was greater, being 10,000 in 1918.

In addition, Dr. Gulick in the New York Independent of May 10, 1919, claimed that the Japanese immigration under his plan would be 40 per cent less in 1935 than had entered the United States in 1917, i. e., 40 per cent less than 8,991, say 5,400.

Gulick's tables, however, avoid showing results under the plan in future years; and no mention is made of the fact that the bill provides for admissions outside the "allotment" which would multiple that allotment several fold.

WHAT WILL REALLY HAPPEN.

Let us assume that the bill will be passed by Congress this year, and see what the future would have in store for us. The Japanese allotment for each of the years 1919, 1920 and 1921 would be, in rough numbers 2,500, being 10 per cent of the native-born Japanese, according to the census of 1910.

In 1922 the figures for the census of 1920 would be available, and based on a native born population in 1920 of 75,000 (easily demonstrable by statistics and the birth rate), the Japanese allotment would jump at once to 7,500.

In 1923 the allotment would receive its first addition from the naturalized element, as it would take five years for aliens to receive final papers. If it be assumed that 50 per cent of the adult Japanese now under the American flag could and would qualify for citizenship, this factor would be 100,000, and 10,000 would be added to the annual allotment, making it 17,500.

If it be assumed that only 20 to 25 per cent would qualify, the factor would be 50,000, and 5,000 would be added to the allotment, making the total 12,500! Even in this case the allotment would be in excess of the high mark of actual immigration for 1918, or of that estimated for 1919.

It may be said in passing, however, that a race demanding American citizenship, which fails to qualify at least 50 per cent of those here, after five years' residence, is not good material for citizenship; they are here for their profit, and not for our benefit; and if they will not make good citizens, they are undesirable as immigrants and permanent residents.

"ALLOTMENT" ONLY A PART OF IMMIGRATION.

But the allotment is only a small measure of the immigration which must be admitted under the provisions of the Gulick bill. Every immigrant who comes in and every one now here is entitled to bring, or send for, a wife (and "picture brides" are wives under Japan's procedure) and certain relatives; and "students," who may turn at once to labor, and those who claim to be objects of religious persecution must be admitted, without limit or restriction.

So that the "allotment" may be only one-half, or one-quarter, or even a smaller proportion of the actual immigration for the year, and the Japanese immigration in 1923 might be anywhere between 30,000 and 75,000.

These misleading tables and statements claiming less immigration under the percentage plan than under the present agreement, have been published for two years or more past, while the authorized versions of the proposed bill given out at the same time contained the provisions above noted and others. Within the past few weeks, under public criticism, modification of some of these provisions has been made, but their presence in the original bill sufficiently indicates the intent of the authors thereof.

The Great Menace—Non-Assimilation and Birth Rate.

The real menace in Japanese immigration is found in three elements. The Japanese do not intermarry with the whites and are never assimilated; they have a birth rate greatly in excess of the average in this country; and the white race cannot face them in economic competition.

The Japanese birth rate per thousand in Sacramento City and elsewhere in California where opportunity for comparison exists is five times as great as that of the white population, as shown by State Board of Health records.

In Los Angeles County, the most populous county in the State, the Japanese births for the month of May, 1919, outside of the incorporated cities, were one-third as many as the white births in those districts. (Los Angeles Times June 30, 1919). The suburban and county population of Los Angeles County is large.

In San Joaquin County during the six months ending July 1, 1919, there were 282 births. Of this number 113 were to native-born American parents, 104 were to Japanese, and the remaining 65 to European foreigners. There were 178 white births and 245 deaths; and 104 Japanese births and only 17 deaths, i. e., the deaths among the whites exceeded the births by 40 per cent; the deaths among the Japanese were only one-sixth of the births. (Stockton Record, July 19, 1919).

The actual number of Japanese immigrants therefore does not afford an adequate idea of the danger that

their coming creates for this country. The number, however small, concentrates in a few chosen localities, thus making their numbers and their racial characteristics tell so that in economic competition they displace the whites. As more of their race come in, other localities are selected and the same plan followed.

Europeans, even of objectionable peoples, would intermarry and in time be assimilated, but the Japanese, never.

It is evident with these racial characteristics and economic advantages, and their overwhelming birth rate, it would require only time for a few hundred thousand Japanese to displace millions of Americans. Even the handicap of a small naturalized population at first would only delay the inevitable result under the percentage immigration plan, while the advocates of that plan insist it would keep the Japanese proportion down permanently.

◆ **Make a table showing the "allotments" and birth and population statistics for twenty years under the percentage plan, for the Japanese and any other race, conceding that the Japanese at the start have only one-twentieth as many naturalized citizens as the other race, but their birth rate is five times as great.**

◆ **In twenty years, the Japanese annual births will equal their annual immigration allotment, and that twenty-to-one proportion, notwithstanding the comparatively small Japanese allotmen, will show each five years a slow decrease as to immigrants, and a rapid decrease as to total population.**

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN 25 YEARS?

Under the Gulick plan the Japanese will steadily gain on any and all races which send over immigrants, first, because the allotment factor of their native born under the 1920 census will represent a greater proportion of their naturalized citizens than will be the case with any other race; and second, because those who find admission will reproduce much more rapidly than the immigrants of any other race.

To demonstrate mathematically that the percentage plan will materially increase even the present Japanese immigration unfairly sent to us under violation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement," I have prepared a table along the lines followed by Dr. Gulick, but showing what he does not show—the results of the next twenty-five years, if Congress should adopt the plan this year.

That the plan might have every reasonable chance consistent with the facts, to make a good showing, the table is based on the following assumptions:—that all provisions allowing immigration in excess of the annual "allotment," will be stricken from the bill; that only 50,000 Japanese will qualify for citizenship five years hence; that of the new immigrants coming in each year, two-fifths only will qualify at the end of five years' residence; that the native born Japanese under the census of 1920 will number 75,000; that the total Japanese population in the United States in 1923 will be only 300,000, and that the annual increase in population due to excess of births over deaths, will be two per cent (the present record in California is nearly four per cent.)

And this is what the table shows The total Japanese immigration admitted under the allotment for each of the years 1919, 1920 and 1921, will be only 2500. In 1922 there will be 7500; in 1923, 12,600 (7500 plus 5100); in 1933, 16,316 (7500 plus 8816); in 1943, 22,987 (7500 plus 15,487).

The partial increase of population measured by births less deaths will be, in 1923, 6000; in 1933, 9800; in 1943, 16,100.

The total annual net increase in population, measured by the last two factors, will be 18,600 in 1923, and 39,000 in 1943.

◆ **The total Japanese population of the United States will be—at the end of 1923—318,600; at the end of 1933—542,000; at the end of 1943—875,000!**

◆ **Present conditions justify the prediction that most of this population will be centered in the Pacific Coast States, and that one-half to two-thirds will be in California. That number of Japanese will go far towards owning those States, economically speaking, and Japanese immigration in the years following can take possesion in turn of the more favored of the remaining States, until all that seem worth while to discriminating Japanese taste have been fully colonized.**

Looking Ahead One Hundred Years.

But let us look still further ahead into the future. Twenty-five years should be but as a month in the life of a great nation like ours. Under the percentage plan for restricting immigration, our Japanese population will have increased nearly three-fold in twenty years from 1923. To be exact, the increase is 266 per cent, the native-born under the 1920 census, a fixed annual amount, contributing 50 per cent, and the other 216 per cent being composed of the naturalized element of the annual allotment, plus the annual births, and less the deaths —a constantly increasing amount.

◆ **At that same rate in 40 years from 1923, the Japanese population of the United States under operation of the Gulick plan would be, in round figures, 2,000,000; in 80 years, 10,000,000; in 140 years, 100,000,000; in 160 years, 216,000,000.**

Long before then the white race would have succumbed in the economic competition and the world's glorious Republic would have become a province of Japan.

The objection will be made to these tables that the ratio of increase used in preparing them will not be maintained; that if it were, the Japanese population of the United States in a few hundred years would run into billions.

It is undoubtedly true that the ratio used will not permanently maintain. Those who have made close study of this subject say that the birth rate of a race decreases with higher standards of living and adaptation to western civilization; but they also say that in a case of

the kind under consideration the invading race maintains a superior birth rate at least until the invaded race has succumbed through economic competition, or force of arms.

In my tables there has been used a ratio which is only one-half of the present ratio of natural increase of the Japanese in California. The ratio in Hawaii is about the same as in California. That half ratio, augmented by immigration, doubles the population in twenty years. In Japan at present the population without immigration doubles in about fifty years, it is said.

If the Japanese continue to come into the United States the rate of increase here will not drop to the present standard of Japan for many generations, in all probability.

The reasons are that ninety per cent of those admitted here in the past twenty years were between 14 and 44 years of age. They were in the vigor of life, and, with imported "picture brides," and with the incentive of citizenship for native-born children established a high birth rate. The clearly defined policy of Japan in "peaceful penetration" of this country will continue to send over the same class of immigrants who will rapidly reproduce, and conditions here as to land ownership and control will encourage such increase. The continued influx of this vigorous element alone would maintain here a higher birthrate than in Japan; and when the Japanese birth rate here drops to the standard in Japan, or even lower, it will still be far above the average white birth rate here.

So that at best all that critics of these figures can hope for is that the final collapse of the American Republic under the proposed percentage immigration plan may be postponed a generation or two.

Results under the Gentlemen's Agreement as now operated by Japan will be slower of attainment, but equally certain in the end!

That is the situation which we face. What is the remedy?

We Have Three Alternatives.

Herbert Quick has properly sensed the importance of the Japanese problem to the American people. But he did not, apparently, have the information which would have shown him the extreme gravity of the existing situation and the danger that lies either in a continuance of present conditions or in the adoption of the plan proposed by the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation.

Those things are made plain by the facts and figures contained in this article and the three preceding ones published last month.

At present, apparently, there are three alternative courses open to the United States in this matter. It may either:

1. Continue the present arrangement and permit Japan to send us a steady and increasing stream of Japanese labor under cover of the gentlemen's agreement, though in flagrant violation of its express terms; or,

2. Replace the gentlemen's agreement by the Gulick League plan for restricting immigration upon a percentage basis, and incidentally insuring Asiatics admission to the country as immigrants and citizens in a guaranteed proportion; or,

3. Cancel the gentlemen's agreement, and join Canada and Australia in barring Japanese and all undesirable Asiatics from citizenship or permanent residence in the country, as a measure of protection for the white race and American institutions.

CONSEQUENCE OF THE PRESENT PLAN.

It has been shown that under the present plan the Japanese population in this country has multiplied sixfold since 1900, while the Chinese population has decreased over one-half; that the Japanese births in California multiplied twenty-fold in the past twelve years; that the Japanese birth rate per thousand in communities in that State is five times as great as that of the whites; that in industries and entire communities whites have been displaced by Japanese, who by concentration make their numbers count; that California sees ahead of her the fate of Hawaii, which already is hopelessly Japanese; that the Japanese in Hawaii comprise half the total population and more than four times that of any other race, and now dominate social and political matters, while in a comparatively few years they will rule the territory by the votes of native-born Japanese, who are not Americans, but Japanese in sympathies, ideals and loyalty; that what has happened in Hawaii and is steadily progressing in California will be brought about inevitably in time in other favored portions of the United States under continuance of existing conditions until eventually this country becomes a province of Japan.

CONSEQUENCES UNDER GULICK LEAGUE PLANS.

So far as concerns the second alternative the Gulick League Plan, the facts presented show that it promises much but performs little; **that under it the tide of Japanese immigration coming in gross violation of the Gentlmen's Agreement would not be lessened but would be steadily increased; that it formally endorses, as desirable immigrants and citizens, members of a race which experience has shown cannot be assimilated into our Nation, and which in economic competition has driven the white race to the wall wherever the two have met; and that any endorsement of the plan by intelligent and loyal Americans must have been given in ignorance of these facts necessarily.**

THE EXCLUSION PLAN

The plain statement of the case should remove either the first or second alernative course from further serious consideration by the country. There remains, then, the third course **—cancellation of the Gentlemen's Agreement and absolute exclusion for the future of Japanese and other undesirable or economically dangerous Asiatics, either as immigrants or citizens.**

That course certainly would prevent spread of the evil, so far as spread thereof may be legally or justly prevented; and it is obviously,

as shown by careful consideration of the situation, the only method by which any adequate remedy may be applied.

Even that remedy will fail to effect a cure in Hawaii for many generations, if it ever can be done, and districts of the Pacific Coast must bear for years the burden placed upon them by the bad faith of Japan, and the blind complaisance of Washington.

As Herbert Quick says, this Nation has the right and the power to protect itself in this way. There are only two arguments that have been or can be offered against it; and both have been gently urged by Dr. Gulick in his campaign, and would have been pressed, doubtless, upon the House Committee on Immigration had it, in compliance with the request made, held executive sessions on the subject.

The Hurt to Japan's Pride.

One argument is that such a course would be hurtful to the pride of Japan, a friendly nation.

Japan's pride can be hurt only if it insists on being hurt when she demands and is refused an unfair and unjust thing, and a thing which she in turn has fairly and justly refused to other nations of her own color—to wit, Korea and China.

And if she does insist on feeling humiliated, or so declares, Shall we be governed in our conduct of this nation by the false pride, even of a friendly power, or by the unmistakeable requirements of our own safety?

The Mailed Fist.

The other argument is that if Japan resents our action in the matter the peace of the world may be disturbed, meaning that the United States may have to go to war.

Is it not about time that the world, and particularly the United States, ceased to accord to Japan everything she demands, just or unjust, under the threat, sometimes veiled and sometimes outspoken, that otherwise she will not play in our back yard, and may even throw bricks through our exposed windows?

What kind of Americanism is it that demands, or suggests, such a humiliating national policy when we are plainly in the right, and when our compliance with demands, or even acceptance of existing conditions, spells certain danger and possible disaster to the American home and American institutions?

Herbert Quick says, referring to the countries of Asia,, "We simply will not admit immigration from those countries freely, no matter what the consequences."

To which might be added: "If there be any American who, after careful consideration of the facts as now offered to the public, favors yielding to the demands or desires of Japan, whether presented formally through her own representatives or in a roundabout way through some of our misguided or misinformed citizens, let him stand up and be counted."

The situation calls for action—action deliberate and tactful, so far as tact does not mean delay or diversion from the main purpose—but, above all, action prompt and decisive.

JAPANESE OR AMERICANS

Which Shall Rule and Occupy the United States in Years to Come?

A compendium of facts already published.

UNDER the title of "Indisputable Facts and Figures Proving California will become Japanized Unless Yellow Peril Stamped Out," the December number of the Grizzly Bear, official organ of the Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West, publishes the following article by V. S. McClatchy, publisher of The Bee:

Position and privilege carry with them obligation and responsibility. We, who were born under the sunny skies of California, who feel and profess a love for the glorious State, certainly owe her support and protection in her hour of need and danger.

The Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West, who have sought through their organization to make public profession of the love and fealty that is in them cannot strive in a better cause than in safeguarding the State's future freedom from foreign enslavement, and in insuring to their children and to their children's children the enjoyment of California's hills and valleys in the glorious years to come.

And when the same danger that threatens the State threatens equally, in time, the entire Nation, then is their duty as Californians reinforced by their greater duty as Americans, to meet and overcome the impending peril.

The State and the Nation are faced now by such a danger! It has already developed within our State, and, unless opposed and conquered, will destroy the State for white occupation within a comparatively short time, and then rapidly extend until other States, and all States, eventually, succumb.

Not a Matter of Opinion.

Even under existing conditions it will be a matter of a few generations only before the Japanese will have so increased in this State that, with the advantages possessed by them in economic competition, they will have successfully ousted the white races from desirable industries and from all desirable localities, as has been done already in a few locations. The result will be hastened if legislation now urged in Congress shall be passed.

This is not simply the expression of an individual opinion, open to criticism and possessing no weight in the face of opposing opinion; it is the statement of an incontrovertible fact, mathematically demonstrated by acknowledged conditions, and by statis-

tics which have not yet been contradicted or met, though they were first presented by me in opposition to the proposed bill of Sidney L. Gulick before the Congressional House Immigration Committee in June of this year.

It is a source of gratification, therefore, to know that the Native Sons and Native Daughters have risen already to the occasion and launched in Los Angeles an organization—the Los Angeles County Anti-Asiatic Association—in favor of Asiatic exclusion, and that individual Parlors of these Orders throughout the State have adopted ringing resolutions asking their Congressional representatives to commence remedial measures.

The Real Issue.

The brotherhood of man and the Golden Rule are appealed to by those who would inundate us gradually with the yellow tide from Japan; but neither principle calls for the surrender by the white race of their favored land to a yellow race which covets it because it offers advantages superior to those which can be found elsewhere. Remember, always, that this problem in its final analysis is simply, "Shall this country of ours be held for our white descendants, or shall it be turned over to the Japanese, that they may rule those descendants as they rule in Korea to-day?"

Remember, again, that there is involved in the subject no question as to racial equality, no reflection upon the Japanese. In fact, our stand upon this matter includes a frank admission that the Japanese are so much our superiors in certain admirable qualities, such as economy, industry and discipline, that, coupled with their lower standards of living, they would drive the white race to the wall in open economic competition, and that this disaster will inevitably follow if the Japanese are admitted to the country, or to certain portions thereof, in sufficient numbers to make their economic advantages count.

Japan Makes Precedent.

And remember, too, that the right which we claim of protecting our people and our institutions against the importation of cheap labor with lower standards of living is precisely the right claimed and exercised by Japan herself, notwithstanding her vociferous protestations against our attitude and her demand for "racial equality," as a basis for free admission for her immigrants to the United States, Canada and Australia; that under Imperial Ordinance No. 352, Japan does not admit, and never has admitted, the cheap labor of Korea and China, notwithstanding it is also yellow in color, and says publicly that she excludes these people because their lower standards of living would make their competition unfair to the Japanese.

It is assumed that no one will question the propriety of the principles outlined above, provided the facts are as represented. It remains only to present those facts. Incidentally, it should be said that in the space of a magazine article, the matter can be presented in outline only, and those who desire fuller explanations and details and the statistics are referred to statements made by me before the House Immigration Committee, September 25th, and before the Senate Immigration Committee, October 10th, of this year, and now in print; or to my published articles which have since been issued in booklet form.

"The Gentlemen's Agreement."

The established policy of the United States is against Asiatic immigration, because the lower standards of living of these immigrants and their possible number would seriously endanger the happiness and prosperity of our people, and the perpetuity of our institutions. The Chinese are kept out under the Exclusion Act. Japan was touched in her pride, or said she was, by having her laborers excluded by law, and offered to exclude them voluntarily, if she was not placed in the same category with China. Hence the "Gentlemen's Agreement," which has been in operation since 1907, and under which Japan, it was understood, would restrict immigration of Japanese to this country as immigration of Chinese was restricted by law. The declared object of the agreement was to prevent Japanese laborers, skilled and unskilled, coming into continental United States. No Japanese, unless born under the American Flag in Hawaii, and therefore a citizen, may enter any port of continental United States unless he carries Japan's passport, which is in effect Japan's word as a "gentleman" that the immigrant is not a laborer, and does not come to labor.

The agreement has been grossly violated by Japan. It is only necessary to say that the Japanese population of the United States since 1900 has increased six-fold, while the Chinese population has decreased over one-half; and Japan was to have secured under the agreement results as to the Japanese similar to those secured as to the Chinese by the Exclusion Act.

So that, even if the agreement had been kept in good faith, it has failed entirely to accomplish the clearly-declared purpose for which it was entered into, and should therefore be abrogated. As a matter of fact, it could have accomplished that purpose had Japan acted up to its letter and its spirit. Under that agreement as now operating, it would require only a few generations to make of California an economic principality of Japan, and drive Californians to other States, where, in time, they would have to succumb to the ever-increasing yellow tide from Japan.

Many Japanese Coming.

From 10,000 to 12,000 Japanese immigrants are coming in each year under this agreement; and most of them are at labor within a few weeks after their arrival, while others go into gainful occupations which displace whites.

The Japanese population of California by immigration has increased about 50,000 since 1907, when the agreement was made, and most of these immigrants are laborers. Each laborer forms a separate violation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

"Picture Brides" have been imported at the rate of over 4,000 a year for the past five years, most of them being laborers and performing the work of men in field or shop, in addition to bearing children, at the rate usually of one a year. In 1918, the total Japanese immigration was 10,168, of which over one-half, 5,347, were

females. In 1900 in the United States there were twenty-five male Japanese to one female. In 1910 there were seven males to one female. At present, it is estimated that the proportion is about three to one.

"Picture Brides" as Laborers.

The "Picture Bride," when she is a laborer, is a direct violation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." As a mother, she is a cunning subterfuge for evading the intent of the agreement and increasing the Japanese population of the United States. Notwithstanding the fact that the Japanese females are outnumbered by the males in this country about three to one, while among the white races the sexes are about equal in number, the birth rate per thousand among the Japaneces in Sacramento and other cities in California is five times as great as among the white population.

In the ten years following the adoption of the agreement, Japanese births in this State multiplied twenty-fold. Last year they numbered 4,365. The Chinese births in California are less than one-tenth of the Japanese, and their death rate is twice as large as the birth rate. The Japanese birth rate is between four and five times as great as their death rate.

MANY JAPANESE ARE NATIVES.

There are in California about 25,000 Japanese native sons and daughters, each one claiming the right to hold land through a guardian, and many of them utilized for that purpose.

Los Angeles is the most populous county in the State, and in that county in May, 1919, outside of incorporated cities, the number of Japanese births was one-third of the aggregate births among all white races, as noted in the Los Angeles Times of June 30, 1919.

In Sacramento County, outside of Sacramento City, in 1918 the Japanese births exceeded the white births. The 1910 census showed eight times as many whites as Japanese in that district.

What Japanese Press Urges.

Since my articles have called attention to these matters there has been continuous comment in the Japanese newspapers of the State. One of them published in San Francisco urged the Japanese to import as many "picture brides" and secure as much California land as possible before restrictive measures are adopted by the State or the Nation.

Increase of Japanese Under Existing Conditions.

The official figures presented above will prepare the reader to consider seriously and to credit the astounding statement that tables carefully compiled show that under existing conditions the Japanese population of this country will increase so rapidly that in a few generations they will drive the whites out of California, and in much less than 200 years can annex the United States as a principality of Japan, the Americans and their descendants outnumbered, driven to the wall through economic competition, and Koreanized.

Gulick Plan Means Great Influx.

Under the Gulick plan, as urged upon Congress, the Japanese immigration would be increased in a few years beyond the present figures. Careful tables of increase of Japanese population in the United States under that plan, and assuming that the excess of births over deaths will be only one-half of that now shown, place the total in 1923 at 318,600; in 1933 at 542,000; in 1943 at 875,000; in 1963 at 2,000,000; in 2003 at 10,000,000; in 2063 at 100,000,000!

Examination of results secured by Japanese colonization in Hawaii and California will convince any one that long before the last date named the whites would have been driven to the wall either by economic competition or by force of arms, and that the world's glorious Republic would have become an appendage of Japan. Under operation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement," as now working, the result would be equally certain, but it might take a little longer.

A year ago this statement would have been laughed at. Remember, today, that the facts and figures upon which it is based have been before the American public and before the House Committee on Immigration since June of this year and neither Sidney L. Gulick nor any other champion of the Japanese, or of the policy of opening our ports to them, has attempted to disprove their correctness.

A Non-Assimilable Race.

The numbers of the Japanese and the manner in which they will inevitably increase in this country form but one factor, however, in the menace which they offer.

They do not assimilate! The melting pot does not affect them as it does in time the most refractory of the European races. They remain always Japanese. They maintain their racial purity more jealously than any other race which comes to our shores. They preserve their ideals, their customs, their language, their loyalty to Japan, even when born here, partly because Japan never ceases to hold them as Japanese citizens, and partly because they are taught in Japanese schools by Japanese teachers who frequently speak no English, and have no sympathy with American ideals. It is a dangerous experiment to attempt to make good American citizens of such material!

Illustrated in Hawaii.

The nature of this problem is well illustrated in Hawaii. Concerning the lesson taught there, Sidney L. Gulick himself declared in 1914, in his pamphlet "Hawaii's American-Japanese Problem":

"If, as Asiatics, they maintain their traditional conceptions of God, nature and man; of male and female; of husband and wife; of parent and child; of ruler and ruled; of the state and the individual, the permanent maintenance in Hawaii of American democracy, American homes and American liberty is impossible."

The standards of living of the Japanese are much lower than ours. Unless we are willing to work twelve, fifteen or eighteen hours a day, to forego recreation and pleasure, and the comforts of American homes; and to have our women slave in the fields, and incidentally bear a child a year, then it is hopeless for us to attempt economic competition with the Japanese. In such a competition in this

country, the white race, even the industrious, hard-working immigrants from Europe, must inevitably go to the wall.

Concentrate Their Numbers.

The Japanese do not distribute themselves throughout the country so as to make a weak solution of Japanese in a great reservoir of Americans. They concentrate their numbers in those localities and industries where most profit can be secured with least effort and least discomfort, and have a co-operation which is more effective than that shown by any American labor union. In this State, for instance, there are say 100,000 Japanese in a total population of 3,600,000, but three-quarters of that 100,000 are found in seven of our fifty-eight counties, and concentrated generally in a few favored localities in those counties.

Under such policy, and with their economic advantages and the assistance received from their government through banks and commissions, it is comparatively easy to conquer one district, drive the whites therefrom, and let newcomers concentrate in other localities. So, in time, the favored spots of the State must succumb—and, unless the remedy is applied, the favored spots of other states.

Three Elements of Menace.

Here are before us, then, the three elements which make Japanese immigration such a grave danger to the country:

First—They do not, and perhaps never will, assimilate.

Second—They have a birth rate so much greater than the whites that time only would be necessary for them to outnumber the whites in communities to which they are admitted.

Third—Their low standards of living, co-operation and thrift give them advantages in economic competition against which it is hopeless for whites to compete.

Hawaii Controlled by Japanese.

Let us glance, now, at what the Japanese, because of the factors named, have already accomplished under the American Flag. A brief outline of the facts, coupled with the undisputed figures as to the rate at which their numbers will increase under existing conditions, furnishes conclusive reply to those who insist that the danger is a fancied and not a real one, and that we can afford to wait until it matures further.

Hawaii is under the American Flag, but it has been practically conquered by the Japanese. Half the entire population of the territory is now Japanese, and they number four times as many as those of any other race. They boast in their newspapers that by the votes of native-born Japanese they will hold the balance of power as between Republicans and Democrats before 1933, and it is equally certain that within a generation they will outvote a combination of all other races in the territory. Their influence is already so great, in advance of the actual voting strength, that they defeated a bill before the territorial legislature in June of this year which would have forced teachers in Japanese and other foreign-language schools to know enough of the English language and American civics and history to teach the young American citizens some of their duties and obligations. The Japanese teachers do not fulfill these requirements.

The Japanese naturally control a number of industries in Hawaii, in which white or native labor was formerly employed.

California Following Hawaii.

What has already happened in Hawaii is now in progress in California. Look at Florin and Walnut Grove, in Sacramento County, and various communities in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, where the white population has already been displaced. Look at the orchard districts now largely dominated by Japanese, at blocks of thousands of acres now being colonized by them; note their increased ownership of land through dummy corporations and native-born Japanese under guardians; see their increased control of the rice fields; consider the Imperial Valley; recall entire districts in the fine residence portion of San Francisco and other cities from which the whites have been driven. Will we heed the lesson?

In Oregon, a large tract of 11,000 acres has just been purchased by Japanese, on which these people will concentrate for growth of garden truck, largely potatoes.

A National Problem.

In Seattle, forty-seven per cent of all hotels and lodging-houses, including the big, pretentious hotels, are owned by the Japanese, and a corresponding number of restaurants, garages, commission houses and small business enterprises.

In the Hood River apple district of Oregon they have already secured control of a large percentage of the orchards. In Colorado they own practically the Rocky Ford melon business, with control of 85 per cent of the district and the crop.

It should be apparent to the intelligent investigator that what has already happened in Hawaii is now taking place in California; that unless drastic remedies are at once applied, existing conditions will in a comparatively short time produce here such results as are noted there; that other favored sections of the Pacific Coast states will suffer in turn; and gradually, as the incoming yellow tide increases, first the most favored districts of other states must succumb, and ultimately all desirable portions of all states.

The problem, therefore, is not a California problem, or even a Pacific Coast problem, but a National problem. Adequate relief can come only from the Federal Government, which has, unwittingly, imposed the burden upon us and blindly permitted it to grow.

Propaganda for Increase of the Evil.

As proof of the necessity for immediate action and continued vigilance in the matter, it should be remembered that for over five years Japan conducted a wonderful propaganda in the United States, through Sidney L. Gulick, for the purpose of securing admission of all Asiatics to this country as immigrants and citizens on the same plane as Europeans, and taking away from the states any authority

in handling matters in connection with the rights of aliens.

Gulick secured endorsement of that policy from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the most powerful church federation in the country, comprising over 100,000 churches and 17,000,000 members, and was employed by the council under salary while he conducted his propaganda.

He organized, a year or more ago, the League for Constructive Immigration Legislation, for the ostensible purpose of protecting American citizenship by restricting undesirable immigration, and secured the names of nearly one thousand prominent Americans in the various states of the Union as sponsors for the league. He formulated a bill which he presented in the name of the league to the House Committee on Immigration in June of this year, which bill proposed to safeguard immigration by limiting it to a percentage of those various races who now claim, or may hereafter claim, American citizenship.

How Scheme Would Work.

Incidentally, however, that bill was a framework in which reposed his main objective—throwing open our ports to the admission of Asiatics as immigrants and citizens. As before stated, the bill would permit the admission of more Japanese than now come in under the violations of the "Gentlemen's Agreement." And under its provisions, too, we could not admit one Belgian, Spaniard or Portuguese unless we admitted from 100 to 600 Germans; nor one Chinaman unless we admitted ten Japanese.

It is gratifying to know that most of Gulick's Committee of One Thousand, on learning the facts, have repudiated the League; and that his measure is dead in Congress because he could not make reply to those facts, a few of which are herein quoted.

But Senator Dillingham of Vermont has introduced in the Senate, and had referred to the Senate Committee on Immigration, a similar bill, which, while it does not admit Asiatics to citizenship, would enormously increase the number of Japanese who could come in as immigrants, not only above the number now coming, but even above the number which could come under the Gulick plan.

The Obvious Remedies.

Through lack of understanding of the subject, and the impression that the Californians are influenced in this matter simply by race prejudice, Congress and the East have been disinclined in years past to consider the menace of Japanese immigration seriously. Shantung and Siberia have given these doubters cause for thought as to Japan, and they are now in a receptive mood. It is the psychological moment for spreading the light of facts throughout the Nation, and creating a mental impression which will stand against Japanese propaganda in the future, and afford substantial basis for remedial action by Congress.

It is through the weak complaisance and the blindness of our Federal Government, and the bad faith of Japan, that the burden has been placed upon us. It is only through Federal action that adequate remedies can be applied. And concerted effort should be made to secure remedial legislation before the menace has become too deeply intrenched. The remedies which I have suggested are:

First—Cancellation of the "Gentlemen's Agreement."

Second — Exclusion of "picture brides."

Third—Absolute exclusion of Japanese, with other Asiatics, as immigrants.

Fourth—Confirmation and legalization of the principle that Asiatics shall be forever barred from citizenship.

Fifth—Amendment of Section 1 of Article XIV of the Federal Constitution, providing that no child born in the United States of foreign parents shall be eligible to American citizenship unless both parents are eligible to such citizenship.

Time to Fight "Peaceful Penetration."

The facts properly marshaled and considered in their relation to each other furnish striking evidence of the undoubted policy of Japan to secure, by "peaceful penetration," a place in this favored land for an unlimited number of her people, and, ultimately, to obtain through them absolute control of the country. In this matter economic conquest would be quite as effective as conquest by force of arms.

The facts, too, show that we have to deal with a cunning, persistent and implacable antagonist, much our superior in adroitness and in the use of diplomatic subterfuges; and that the Nation can not be saved without the creation of a public sentiment which will put backbone into the Federal Administration, which in the past has permitted Japan to cajole and bluff it on any and all issues.

Japan and her friends have intimated that there will be a serious break, and possibly war, between the two nations if we insist on protecting our people and the future of the Republic by any such restrictive measures as are herein suggested—the only ones which will prove effective. That has ever been the insidious suggestion from Japan, supplementing her plea that the pride of her people must be respected.

If Japan Fair, No War.

If Japan is fair in this matter, there will be no war, for our position is not only just and similar to that of Japan in Asia, but is necessary for our future welfare. If Japan insists on being unreasonable, is it not about time that Americans should demand that the Federal Administration govern this country for the benefit, present and future, of Americans, and not in accordance with the request or threat of a foreign nation?

Our present problem has been created by our weak yielding to such demands, or threats, in the past. Japan does not attempt such tactics with Canada or Australia, which rigorously exclude Japanese under the same laws as govern the immigration into those countries of other Asiatics.

This is our country! It rests with us to say whether we shall share it with the yellow races or not. It is time that we spoke in unmistakable terms to the world on this subject, and that we back up our announced policy in any way necessary for its maintenance.